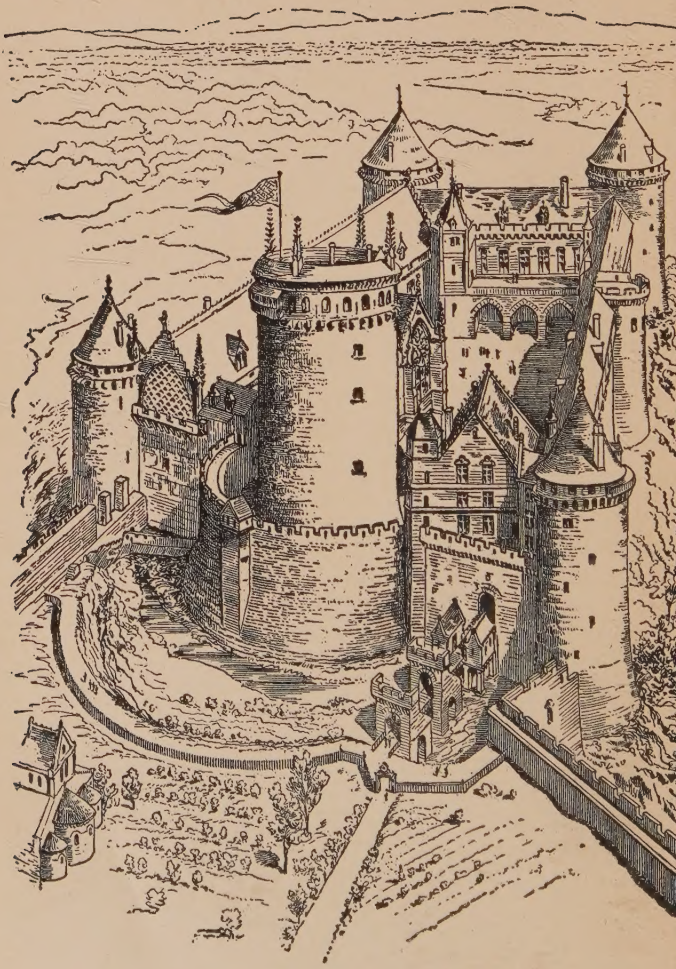
Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/oldfrancehistori0000john



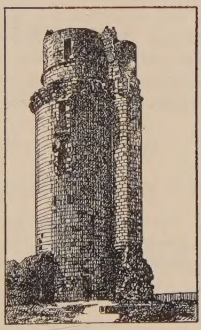
Coucy Castle.

OLD FRANCE

An Historic Background of the France of Today

By

JOHN G. COULTER



WITH 128 ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT
INCLUDING MAP

NEW YORK : LONDON
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
The Knickerbocker Press
1930

OLD FRANCE

Copyright, 1930
by
G. P. Putnam's Sons

Published, Fall, 1930

All rights reserved. This book, or parts thereof, must not be reproduced in any form without permission.

Made in the United States of America

PREFACE

If you are in haste for history, skip the preface. However, considerable pains were taken with it and it may do some good. It goes to show that it is natural for an American to be disappointed in France at first and urges reservation of judgment. It advises some knowledge of history as a basis for appreciation and recommends escape from the beaten tourist track. There is a personal part that touches lightly on the War. Marianne, the first girl mentioned in the book, is the one you have seen in cartoons with Uncle Sam; she is France.

You have to know France to love her, and you have to read her history to know her. Whether you love her or not, to know her is of great and increasing importance. It is important enough to justify a sojourn rather than just a visit. France, as no other country, illuminates and unifies the present and the past. She is perhaps the best available rectifier of mistaken ideas as to human nature and progress.

You do not learn to know France merely by going to Paris. Thousands go there every year and remain strangers to the country whose capital they visit. Marianne is rarely met on the boulevards; her acquaintance must be made elsewhere. The places most Americans frequent are precisely where she is not. To make her acquaintance you must get away from city crowds and take your

time to it. Marianne is practically invisible to all who, in thought or act, are in a hurry.

France and the United States are beginning to realize the importance that each has for the other. Apart from the long tradition of national friendship, personal acquaintance is increasing to the benefit of both. There is that «indescribable something» about France that supplements America; to call it indescribable is a way of admitting its importance. It supplies a lack of which we may remain unconscious at home, but of which we soon become aware when abroad. Nor is the lack referred to one which may be supplied in Canada or in Cuba. It is something the mind misses rather than the body. It cannot be attained by the use of tickets and travellers' checks alone. The mind itself must move upon this rare excursion. Once it has moved, its only regret may be that it did not make the journey sooner. No other slight effort yields richer or more various recompense.

When you go to France, however, you may encounter various hindrances to budding affection. Very important among these may be a hindrance that you brought with you, a hindrance that arises from the idea that France should conform to ideals cherished at home. She is entitled to her own, even at the peril of having other ones than ours. Her differences are more important to us than her similarities, and should be esteemed as such. They are, after all, what you go to see.

Pre-war France valiantly resisted standardiza-

tion. Her genius was and yet remains hostile to it, but resistance has weakened. World competition and salesmanship have had effects. The same breakfast foods from the same factories come to Paris in the same packages you knew at home, and chewing-gum is sold with cigarettes. You can go to the same movies, read the same newspapers, eat the same food, and do the same thinking all in the same old way, if you want to. But also you can escape all that. There is more to France than Paris and Biarritz.

Facilities for the satisfaction of the milder American manias are now provided at all tourist centers. The French always did excel us as to beds and board, and now they threaten to compete as to bathrooms. But, since women usually pay in bloom for success in business, so the bathrooms and what they bring in their train have marked, where they occur, the cheek of Marianne.

Comparisons being valid only when factors affecting the things compared are equal or measurable, they are, as to France and the United States, usually unjustified. First impressions also often lead to erroneous generalizations. Thus it happens that many American ideas about France are far from accurate. Somewhere between the perennial platitudes of diplomatic public speech and the inaccuracies of private fault-finding, an attitude that is fair to the facts may be found. One ambassador tells the French how much we love them, but one hundred thousand go home and

express disagreement with the ambassador. Both exaggerate.

Such considerations hardly occur to you once you get off the beaten tourist track. Once you meet the real France face to face, international prejudice ceases to exist in the presence of more interesting things; you begin to feel kinship without having to talk about it. Human nature appears to make it inevitable that the same methods and mechanisms of deterioration operate wherever prosperous pleasure-seekers foregather; in that particular, Paris is a twin of New York and the Riviera first cousin to Florida. But out in the country things are not like that. There it is so different that sophistication is the wrong garment. There your mental outer skin may be slipped off like a snake's in the spring. You may discover that you are capable of interests and responses of which you were nearly unaware. There, in the presence of its visible evidences, a great history may speak to you personally. Far from « American bars » this pageantry of the past unfolds. Your own kinship with it may come to consciousness. New vistas open. The gentlemen of the Middle Ages saw new vistas through the crevices in their mental crusts made by the Crusades. Before they went crusading they were hardly conscious of the crusts that encased them. Are any of us?

New vistas open. Do not think that the history of France is the history of France alone. It is a

history that touches all of us. It had almost as much to do with making you what you are as with making the French what they are. Rights and privileges you now enjoy were won for you in the Old World long ago. Such are the ties that bind us all, such the contagion of ideas, that your debt to those who died for them so long ago in France is as great as anyone's. Here is a scene that was set for you. On the stage of old France your fate was fought for as well as that of any serf's. Now it is your good fortune to be alive when he is dead, and to explore that past of which he was a part and you are a beneficiary.

If you are willing to go away from resorts and cities, if you are adventurous enough to go where Grand Palace hotels are not guaranteed, you may discover old France. Then you may find that your love may begin with love of her rather than with the France most frequently met today. It may begin with love of her physical beauty, of her ancient monuments, of her unchanged people of the country, and of her so dearly won contributions to human freedom and enlightenment rather than with existent city populations and the modern manifestations thereof. Ancient cities have lost something of their ancient charm. What is very modern makes inharmonious intrusion there and is inescapable. At famous places in the mountains and beside the sea, casino nights make for drowsy mornings lost from life. Escape them. They are not the true France!

Not far away rise lonely and lovely towers of another day whose beauty has suffered no diminution. Rather, they have grown in beauty with the ages. The sun, rising over the Alps, lights up the hills and valleys of a France as fair to look upon as ever in the olden days. It is this that is your proper heritage. The setting is all there and quickly conjures up the great actors who once moved through this scene. The matchless colors and the softness of the air remain. The open roads still lead past a thousand ruin-crowned hills. To the old and to the eternal France this book invites you, to a land where dreams may still come true.

You have to know France to love her. This is written by one who found it so. We came to France for the first time during the war. We came to join the French army, but that was not primarily for love of France. Love of France is often born only after rather disillusioning experiences, and of such we had our share.

We landed at Bordeaux one rainy, wintry evening. First impressions were depressing. There were miles of wet pavement and of wet gray walls before a place to sleep could be found. The lights were all out and we were cold. The ride to Paris the next day was not the adventure we had hoped for. The magpies were new; so were the great globular bunches in the trees that suggested their nests, but turned out to be mistletoe. The

magpies and the mistletoe were about the most interesting things we saw. The farms did not impress us favorably. There were no barns worth mentioning and not a silo or an elevator anywhere. Railway stations and other buildings left much to be desired. Poitiers! There was a thrill in that name, but, when we looked out, we got a cinder in the eye and plunged into a tunnel. We were nearly sure the Black Prince once made a king of France his prisoner near Poitiers, but, for all we saw, we might as well have had the same idea in Peoria.

Tours lay really there in view across some sodden and dismal fields, but it was hard to believe it. The Loire seemed just a sandy, troublesome stream, useless for navigation. Amboise and Chaumont, pointed out across the river, produced but a slight thrill. We had seen finer country places back home. Then came the plains of the Beauce, a flat and fertile area that extends from the Loire nearly to Paris. That sombre region recalled a terrible book of Zola's; he wrote of the Beauce. Now we believed what he wrote. We had thought you had to go to the steppes of Russia to see anything as dismal as the Beauce. Just a crow would have lightened the landscape up, but not even a crow was there. We recalled that Chartres was over somewhere beyond all that gloom and scene for tragedy, and is not the cathedral at Chartres one of the most beautiful things in the world? It is, but we felt that

Chartres was very unfortunate in its foreground. Yet even the Beauce can be beautiful. It can be as exquisite in April as any other garden that God and man have worked so long together to make, but it rarely seems beautiful in February to those just landed from America.

Then would have come the lights of Paris had there been any, but there were none. We came out of a gloomy station into a drizzle of rain, into marrow-penetrating chill. We rode supperless through dark streets to be told at the end of the ride that it was too late for food. Everything was shut up. By candle-light we turned into army cots in a glacial, prison-like room.

The next day it rained. For twenty-one days thereafter it rained. Day after day we went when we could to stare in the rain at old gray buildings. To us, alas, they were little more than old gray buildings. When we did go in, we found interiors that for brightness and warmth reminded us of the Beauce. Soon we had had enough of old buildings. In the light of our experience we advise all toward whom we have a kindly feeling never to go sight-seeing unless at least a little gay to begin with. You can pick up plenty of gloom as you go along. It also seems desirable to know at least a trifle about what you are going to see. As for us, we got in those first days a strong impression of dinginess and of much of what an American would call inefficiency; also of the greatness of our ignorance and of the dampness

of our feet. So this was Paris! There was, to be sure, an elusive beauty about its pearl-grayness as seen on rainy days, but how exasperating it was to be there and to know so little about it!

As soon as the sun came out to stay we started for the Front. That was different. It was as though a band had begun to play; as though we could hear the sound of distant drums. The nearer we got to the Front the more cheerful everybody became. Smiles, even laughter, perhaps a little forced, came at the first remote sound of the guns. To act as though war was one of your favorite sports seemed to be the thing to do. After the stagnation of Paris there was joy in mere movement. The convoy of new Ford ambulances made a brave appearance. It was cheered as we passed by. Fresh paint gleamed in the sunshine as our long line wound over the low hills. It suggested the gleam on knightly armor that passed that way a thousand years before. Those must have been great days, but the best were saved for us. We were hurrying on toward the greatest show of all time, to have our own small part therein. Word went along that Verdun was our goal! It was like entering a new world in which there seemed at that fleeting moment of entrance every reason for exhilaration.

The sun continued to shine and France began to look worth fighting for. The plains of Champagne and the green hills of the Meuse were

very fair that spring. There were so many yellow primroses in the green meadows, and such long lines of stately poplars marched beside the white road or followed the shadowy canals. That muttering guns beyond the hills were killing men seemed incredible.

We talked, the little we could talk, with women and children and old men at work in the fields, at work at the spring plowing and planting. They, they and the loveliness of those days the like of whose colored mists we had never seen on land or sea, brought back to life again the dreams of France.

We were impressed with what we first saw of French military equipment and operations. We were impressed by the idea that, judging by what we saw, a few American divisions might win the war. We lost our previous respect for the military ability of the Germans. They had not been able to take Paris, but, to us, it looked as though the Rough Riders might take it any afternoon.

Not much later, however, new evidence led to revision of this first impression. Much of that evidence came from those whose last ride was in our ambulances. The process of revision of impressions has been going on ever since, until now, after some years of residence near Paris, there is the feeling of favorable location there with reference to many sources of inexhaustible delight.

« He who would take knowledge home from a

journey needs to take knowledge with him.» Some knowledge of France needs to be taken to France. This is written repentantly. During the war wonderful things seen hastily passed like dreams. Unforgettable pictures come back to mind. But what were they? Even where were they? Once there were ruins of an ancient castle seen dimly on a wild coast at dusk. It may have been in Brittany, yet though once one surely stood within its crumbling walls and watched the rooks wheel overhead, that castle seen at dusk is one now with the lost kingdom of Ys, perhaps the more unforgettable for that.

So this writing began with a feeling of need to make amends, a feeling that it was a sort of sin to remain ignorant of France. The effort has been to help those in danger of similar sin, and to save them in some measure from it by a simple account of celebrated and interesting sinners who were kings in France. Modern methods of presenting history avoid telling much about kings; they have been banished to the background and much is to be said in favor of such procedure. But if you want to know about France you do need to know about her kings; know them and other facts slip easily into a mental place that may be permanent. The kings at least constitute a convenient filing cabinet.

Guide books and descriptive books are replete with historical allusions. If you don't know to what the allusions allude, they may exasperate

as much as they edify. You need to read a history first. There are plenty of histories of France, but few of them seem easy for the casual reader to read. It is hoped that this one is. Organized information is presented in as readable a style as the writer could command. Certain early kings have been described who might have been omitted except that they are essential to the story, and, despite their obscurity, you do encounter them frequently in travel in old France.

It is best to begin at the beginning. So there is presented herewith an informal account of kings in France from Clovis to Columbus. Not that Columbus was a king in France, but he did make his well-known discovery of America shortly after Louis XI opened the first post-office, and these were events that marked the passing of the ancient order. The discovery of the New World made the Old World a new world too. Also there occurred about that time an extensive change in ideas, architecture, and art called the Renaissance, an impressive word which, if correctly pronounced, may create the presumption that you already know a good deal about French history. *Old France* ends at the Renaissance.

Motor tours to many of the points of interest mentioned in OLD FRANCE are conducted by its author from June to September. For parties of four or more (twelve being the limit) the inclusive cost is about sixteen dollars per person per day. For further information address

JOHN G. COULTER,
Hotel le Royal, 212 Boulevard Raspail, Paris.

CHAPTER INDEX

		Pages.
CHAPTER 1.	— France as God made her	25
CHAPTER 2.	— A preview of the kings	38
CHAPTER 3.	— Caesar. Roman Gaul. Teutonic invasions. Attila. Châlons	45
CHAPTER 4.	— Clovis. Gallo-Romans and barbarians. Church of Rome. Arianism. Conversion of Clotilde.	58
CHAPTER 5.	— Clovis and Saint Remi. Vase of Soissons. Courtship of Clotilde. Battle of Tolbiac. Baptism of Clovis	65
CHAPTER 6.	— Division of the kingdom. Gontran. Chilperic and Sigebert. Frédégonde and Brunehaut.	76
CHAPTER 7.	— Austrasia and Neustria. Dagobert. Mayors of the palace. Ebroin begins	86
CHAPTER 8.	— Ebroin continues. Pépin d'Héristal. Charles Martel. Defeat of the Saracens. Pépin the Short	93
CHAPTER 9.	— Society in the Merovingian period	101
CHAPTER 10.	— The Church in Merovingian times. The Benedictines	111
CHAPTER 11.	— Pope Gregory the Great. Gregory of Tours. Churches	118
CHAPTER 12.	— A slight review. Pépin, the pope, and the Lombards. Charlemagne begins	125
CHAPTER 13.	— All Charlemagne	132
CHAPTER 14.	— Divine right. The first Louis and his sons. Fontanet. The treaty of Verdun	144
CHAPTER 15.	— The king's power wanes. Charles the Bald. Norman pirates. Charles the Fat	154
CHAPTER 16.	— End of Carolingians. Beginning of Capetians.	163
CHAPTER 17.	— The Normans and their siege of Paris	172
CHAPTER 18.	— The establishment of Normandy. Its first three dukes; Rollo, William Longsword, and Richard the Fearless	181
CHAPTER 19.	— The setting of the stage for the Feudal Ages.	190
CHAPTER 20.	— Something about the Feudal Ages	199
CHAPTER 21.	— The first four Capetians; Hugh Capet, Robert the Pious, Henry I, and Philip I	207

Pages.

CHAPTER 22. — Richard the Good and Robert the Devil, both of Normandy. Normans in Italy..... 217
CHAPTER 23. — William the Conqueror gets started. Fulk Nerra of Anjou and Count Eudes of Blois. 225
CHAPTER 24. — Early events in England. Edward, Harold, and William. The preliminaries to the battle of Hastings..... 234
CHAPTER 25. — Harold defeated at Hastings. The subsequent career of William the Conqueror..... 244
CHAPTER 26. — Mostly about William II, Henry I, and Louis the Fat..... 256
CHAPTER 27. — The First Crusade..... 267
CHAPTER 28. — Louis the Fat loved fights. Some Suger..... 276
CHAPTER 29. — Louis the Fat and the communes. Young Louis succeeds his father. His sprightly wife Eleanor..... 288
CHAPTER 30. — More about the feudal scene..... 299
CHAPTER 31. — Henry II of England. Thomas à Becket. Louis VII of France..... 308
CHAPTER 32. — Philip and Richard and John. Philip's conquest of England-in-France. The battle of Bouvines..... 317
CHAPTER 33. — The policies of Philip Augustus. His son, Louis VIII. The regency of Blanche of Castille..... 327
CHAPTER 34. — An excursion into Italy and Germany. Otto the Great. Hildebrand who became Gregory VII..... 336
CHAPTER 35. — Guelphs and Ghibellines. Frederick Barbarossa. Innocent III. Frederick II..... 344
CHAPTER 36. — Saint Louis..... 354
CHAPTER 37. — Philip III the Hardy. Philip IV the Fair. The battle of Courtrai..... 363
CHAPTER 38. — The victory of Philip the Fair over the pope. Avignon replaces Rome..... 372
CHAPTER 39. — Philip's destruction of the Templars. The reigns of his three sons..... 379
CHAPTER 40. — Recapitulation of Carolingians and Capetians. 388
CHAPTER 41. — Other Crusades to or toward the Holy Land. 394
CHAPTER 42. — The crusade against the Albigenses and its consequences..... 401
CHAPTER 43. — Features of the Thirteenth Century. Abelard. The University. Gothic architure. The fairs. 408
CHAPTER 44. — The first Valois king of France. Edward III of England. Events that led to the Hundred Years' War..... 418

Pages.

CHAPTER 45. — Edward's raid across Normandy. The battle of Crécy. The capture of Calais, Black Death, and the end of Philip..... 427

CHAPTER 46. — John the Good, Charles the Bad, the Black Prince, and the battle of Poitiers..... 435

CHAPTER 47. — The Dauphin Charles. Etienne Marcel. The Jacquerie. The treaty of Brétigny and the unregretted end of John the Good..... 443

CHAPTER 48. — The brief reign of Charles the Wise in which Bertrand Duguesclin played a great part. 454

CHAPTER 49. — Charles VI succeeds Charles V and John the Fearless succeeds Philip the Hardy. Murder of the king's brother..... 464

CHAPTER 50. — Armagnacs vs. Burgundians. The Cabochins; their ordinance and their misbehavior. Renewal of the Hundred Years' War.... 475

CHAPTER 51. — The battle of Agincourt. The Armagnacs fall in Paris. Death of John the Fearless. The treaty of Troyes..... 482

CHAPTER 52. — Charles VII, « King of Bourges ». Arthur of Brittany, Count of Richmond. The siege of Orléans begins..... 491

CHAPTER 53. — Joan of Arc saves France. Her early life at Domremy. The English retreat and Charles is crowned..... 500

CHAPTER 54. — Joan is taken prisoner. The tragedy of Rouen. End of the Hundred Years' War..... 512

CHAPTER 55. — Charles VII, the « Well served ». Yolande of Aragon and Agnes Sorel. Jacques Cœur and other able ministers..... 522

CHAPTER 56. — The dubious renown of Louis XI. The League for the Public Good and the battle of Montlhéry..... 532

CHAPTER 57. — King Louis outwits his enemies near Paris, but becomes a prisoner at Péronne..... 542

CHAPTER 58. — Louis benefits by his brother's death. Burgundy's defeat at Beauvais. End of Charles the Bold..... 552

CHAPTER 59. — The last days of Louis XI..... 563

CHAPTER 60. — A postscript. The regency of Anne of Beaujeu. A glance back. The Great Schism. Fifteenth Century monuments..... 572

Index..... 581

Folded map..... END

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

375.	Invasions of Gaul by the Barbarians.
451.	Defeat of the Huns under Attila in the battle of Châlons.
486.	Victory of Clovis over Syragius in the battle of Soissons.
493.	Marriage of Clovis with Clotilde.
496.	Battle of Tolbiac and baptism of Clovis by Saint Remi.
511.	Death of Clovis.
561.	Division of Gaul into Neustria and Austrasia.
561-687.	Period of the Mayors of the Palace and of the Rois Fainéants.
566-613.	Period of Brunehaut and Frédégonde.
590-604.	Period of Pope Gregory the Great.
615.	Adoption at Paris of the « Perpetual Constitution ».
628-638.	The reign of Dagobert.
638-752.	Period of the decadence of the Merovingians.
669-681.	Period of Ebroin, Mayor of the Palace in Neustria.
687.	Victory of Pépin d'Héristal at Testry.
732.	Victory of Charles Martel over the Arabs in what is often called « the battle of Tours ». It was fought nearer Poitiers than Tours, but there are differences of opinion as to the exact place.
754.	Pépin the Short crowned by the pope.
768-814.	The reign of Charlemagne (Charles I).
800.	Charlemagne crowned as emperor by the pope at Rome.
814-840.	The reign of Louis I the Débonnaire.
841.	The battle of Fontanet between grandsons of Charlemagne and their followers.
843.	The treaty of Verdun that involved the breaking-up of Charlemagne's empire.
840-877.	The reign of Charles II the Bald.
877.	The edict of Kiersy.
877-879.	The reign of Louis II the Stammerer.
879-882.	The joint reign of Louis II and of Carloman.
882-884.	The reign of Carloman alone.

885-887. The reign of Charles the Fat of the German line.
885. The siege of Paris by the Normans.
887-893. The reign of Eudes, son of Robert, Count of Paris and Duke of France.
893-898. The rival reigns of Eudes and of Charles III the Simple.
898-922. The reign of Charles the Simple alone. Deposed in 922; died in 929.
911. Cession of Normandy to the Normans by the treaty of St-Clair-sur-Epte.
922-923. The reign of Robert I, Duke of France.
923-936. The reign of Raoul, Duke of Burgundy.
936-954. The reign of Louis IV d'Outre-Mer.
954-986. The reign of Lothaire.
962. Otto the Great of Germany crowned emperor at Rome.
986-987. The reign of Louis V the Fainéant, last of the Carolingians.
987-996. The reign of Hugh Capet from whom the Capetian dynasty took its name.
996-1031. The reign of Robert the Pious.
1031-1060. The reign of Henry I.
1060-1108. The reign of Philip I.
1066. The battle of Hastings that led to the conquest of England by William of Normandy.
1073-1085. Hildebrand, as Gregory VII, reigned as pope.
1066-1087. The reign of William the Conqueror as king of England.
1095-1099. The First Crusade.
1108-1137. The reign of Louis VI the Fat.
1122. The Agreement of Worms ended the Quarrel of the Investitures.
1137-1180. The reign of Louis VII the Young.
1147-1149. The Second Crusade.
1152. The divorce of Eleanor from Louis VII and her marriage to Henry Plantagenet.
1152-1190. The reign of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.
1154-1189. The reign of Henry II, the first of the Plantagenet kings of England.
1180-1223. The reign of Philip II Augustus.
1189-1192. The Third Crusade.
1189-1199. The reign of Richard Lion-Heart as king of England.
1199-1204. Philip Augustus drove the English out of Normandy.
1202-1204. The Fourth Crusade.
1208-1218. The crusade and war with the Albigenses.
1218-1250. The reign of Emperor Frederick II.
1219-1221. The Fifth Crusade.
1223-1226. The reign of Louis VIII.

1226-1270. The reign of Louis IX, Saint Louis.
1226-1236. The regency of Blanche of Castille.
1228-1229. The Sixth Crusade.
1241. The battle of Taillebourg in which King Louis defeated the English.
1248-1252. The Seventh Crusade.
1270. The Eighth and last Crusade.
1270-1285. The reign of Philip III the Hardy.
1282. The Sicilian Vespers, a massacre of the French in Sicily.
1285-1314. The reign of Philip IV the Fair.
1302. The first States-General. The battle of Courtrai; the French defeated by the Flemings.
1303. Attack on Pope Boniface VII by men of the king of France.
1305-1375. The popes at Avignon : the « Babylonian Captivity ».
1307-1311. Destruction of the Knights Templar.
1314-1316. The reign of Louis X the Quareller.
1316-1322. The reign of Philip V the Tall.
1322-1328. The reign of Charles IV the Fair, who was the last of the direct Capetians.
1327-1377. The reign of Edward III, King of England.
1328-1350. The reign of Philip VI, first of the Valois kings.
1337-1453. Period of the Hundred Years' War.
1436. The battle of Crécy.
1350-1364. The reign of John the Good.
1356. The battle of Poitiers.
1356-1358. Etienne Marcel master of Paris.
1358. The Jacquerie.
1360. The treaty of Brétigny.
1364-1380. The reign of Charles V the Wise. Victories of Duguesclin over the English.
1380-1422. The reign of Charles VI the Well-loved.
1382. The battle of Roosebeke : victory of the French over the Flemings.
1392. The king, on his way to Brittany, becomes insane.
1407. Assassination of Louis of Orléans by men of John of Burgundy.
1413. The Cabochin Ordinance.
1413-1422. The reign of Henry V of England. He died in France.
1412. The battle of Agincourt.
1420. The treaty of Troyes.
1422. The infant Henry VI of England proclaimed at St Denis to be the king of France.
1422-1461. The reign of Charles VII the Well-served.
1429. Joan of Arc comes to Chinon and raises the siege of Orléans. Charles VII is crowned at Reims.

1431. The burning of Joan at Rouen.
1435. The treaty of Arras.
1438. The pragmatic sanction of Bourges.
1453. Victory at Castillon over the English and end of the Hundred Years' War.
1461-1483. The reign of Louis XI.
1465. The League for the Public Good and the battle of Montlhéry.
1468. The meeting at Péronne between Louis and Charles the Bold.
1475. Edward IV of England invades France. Treaty of Pecquigny.
1477. Death of Charles the Bold assures supremacy of the monarchy.
1480. Death of King René of Anjou adds to strength of the crown.
1483-1498. The reign of Charles VIII.
1483-1491. The regency of Anne of Beaujeu.
1491. The marriage of Charles VIII to Anne of Brittany.

CAPETIAN KINGS AND QUEENS TO CHARLES VIII.

Hugh Capet, 987-996. — Adelaide of Poitiers.
Robert the Pious, 996-1031. — Bertha of Burgundy and Constance of Arles.
Henry I, 1031-1060. — Anne Jaroslaw.
Philip I, 1060-1108. — Bertha of Flanders and Bertrade of Monfort.
Louis VI, 1108-1137. — Adelaide of Savoy.
Louis VII, 1137-1180. — Eleanor of Aquitaine, Constance of Castille and Alixe of Champagne.
Philip II, 1180-1223 — Isabelle of Hainaut, Ingeburge of Denmark and Agnes of Meranie.
Louis VIII, 1223-1226. — Blanche of Castille.
Louis IX, 1226-1270. — Marguerite of Provence.
Philip III, 1270-1285. — Isabelle of Aragon and Marie of Brabant. (The Bourbon line, of which Henry of Navarre was the first to reign (1589-1610) descended from Robert of Bourbon, a brother of Philip III.)
Philip IV, 1285-1314. — Jeanne of Navarre. (The Valois line descended from Charles of Valois, a brother of Philip IV.)

Louis X, 1314-1316. — Marguerite of Burgundy and Clemence of Hungary.
Philip V, 1316-1322 — Jeanne of Burgundy.
Charles IV, 1322-1328. — Blanche of Burgundy, Marie of Luxembourg, and Jeanne of Evreux. (The last three named were brothers who left no sons. It was then that the Valois line began to reign.)
Philip VI, 1328-1350. — Jeanne of Burgundy and Blanche o. Evreux.
John the Good, 1350-1364. — Bonne of Luxembourg and Jeanne of Auvergne
Charles V, 1364-1380. — Jeanne of Bourbon.
Charles VI, 1380-1422. — Isabeau of Bavaria.
Charles VII, 1422-1461. — Marie of Anjou.
Louis XI, 1461-1483. — Margaret of Scotland and Charlotte of Savoy.
Charles VIII, 1483-1498. — Anne of Brittany.

INDEX TO MAPS

	Pages.
Outline map of western Europe	26
The country that came to be France	28
Division of the kingdom in 561	81
The empire of Charlemagne	136
Division of the empire in 843	152
France and England in the time of William the Conqueror.	250
Feudal France in the Eleventh Century	300
Extent of House of Burgundy	469
Growth of the kingdom under Lonis XI	469
Folded map to show all points	END

CHAPTER ONE

FRANCE AS GOD MADE HER

A geographical chapter. The setting of the stage. The lay of the land largely determined the fate of the people who lived there. Of all countries, France has been the most popular with invaders. There are four great river systems, seven kinds of climate, plenty of mountains, and a great deal of sensational scenery. Certain parts of it were particularly popular with prehistoric people which constitutes an important recommendation.

France is fair and fertile. In all the world no equal area excels her in physical beauty combined with resources for human needs. That and her situation determined her destiny. Nature did more than set the stage, this stage on which so great a part of the human drama has been played. The setting even foretold the drama.

This most fertile part of western Europe is also the most exposed to attack. In the old days wealth, always the thing attacked, rested on fertility even more than it does today. One glance at the map shows how France forms the western apex of the Old World. It is an apex on which presses from behind an enormous area of less fertile land, an area in which population always outgrew resources, as it still does there today. Migration was forced by hunger, or by pressure from behind by others still hungrier. Booty and food and drink, those are the things they went to France to find. Of all lands she seemed to be the one most to be desired. The way was open and invaders came. They conquered and they destroyed, but the best of them remained and helped rebuild · remained and did

Outline map of western Europe.

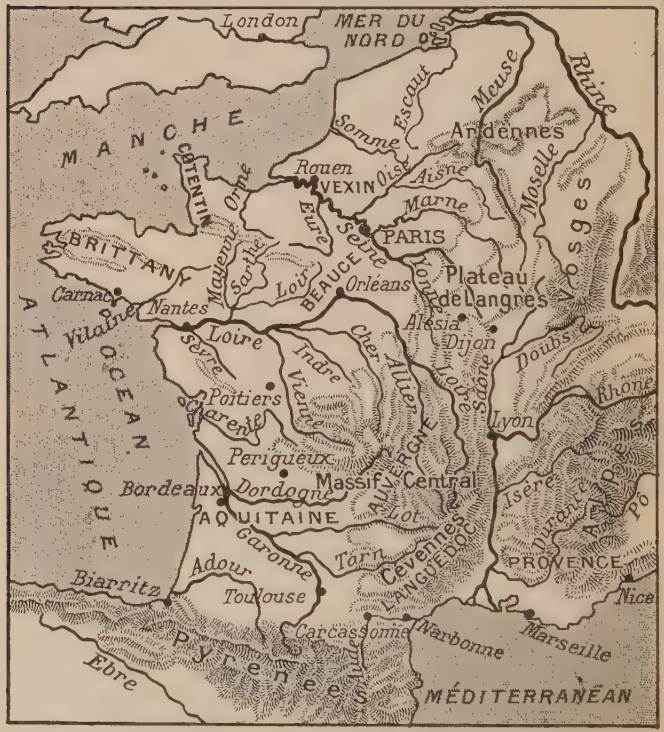
much to make France what she has been and what she continues to be.

In the human sense France has thus been the focal point of Europe since the early days of Christianity. When the power of Rome spread beyond Italy, Gaul became her greatest province. When Rome fell, civilization in its age-old westward trend found a new center in France. Even now, after more than fifteen centuries, France, for things of the spirit, for intellectual freedom, remains the capital of the world. This might have been quite otherwise, however, except for a certain arrangement of mountains and coasts, of rivers and of fertile plains.

In paraphrase of Isaac : France is the face of the ancient continent. Italy and Spain, peninsulas, are sheltered and isolated by mountain and ocean barriers, but France, in its relation to Eurasia, is « like a statue still three-fourths within its block of marble ». All the great migrations from east to west ended by flowing in on France. Mediterranean influences came in by the Rhône and the Saône valleys and mingled with northern influences in the fertile basin of the Seine. France, so solidly continental, is also doubly maritime. She has an immense western sea front, and a long base on the Mediterranean. There is great variety in soil and climate, in vegetation and in resources, a variety that probably no other country possesses within equal limits of area. But all this diversity is so harmoniously combined that the country seems predestined by nature for unity, a unity that arises from easy natural lines of human movement. Between the plains of the Seine, the Loire, the Saône and the Garonne uninterrupted currents of life have circulated since the earliest days of human history.

When Caesar and his ten legions entered Gaul, fifty-eight years before the birth of Christ, they found two ways open. One lay northward up the Rhône;

the other westward along the Pyrenees. Between these two natural highways lies the great *Massif Central* with its barren and formidable mountainous



The country that came to be France.

uplands. The northward way lies between the Cevennes, the eastern wall of the Massif Central, and the Alps. Along this way there is no natural turning to right or left, to east or west, but northward, up the Rhône, the way lies plain and easy.

Two hundred miles from the Mediterranean the marching legions came to the union of the Rhône and the Saône where today the city of Lyon stands. There Rome established its capital of Gaul. At Lyon the Rhône turns eastward toward the Alps. Its valley narrows and presents many difficulties. But the flat

Vercingetorix calls the Gauls to arms against the Romans.

valley of the broad and tranquil Saône leads over pleasant river meadows on toward the north.

Another two hundred miles and the mountains to the west have become but gentle hills. It is over these hills of Burgundy and across the plateau of Langres that the way lies northwestward into the rich basin of the Seine. It was here, here where the Atlantic and the Mediterranean waters divide, that Vercingetorix, heroic leader of the Gauls, made at Alesia his last stand against Caesar.

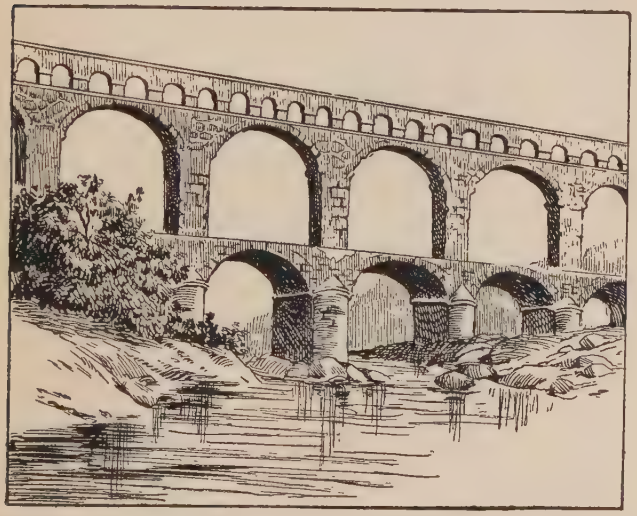
The train from Paris to Nice follows the whole length of this historic highway. Just after the station of Les Laumes-Alésia, as you are approaching Dijon on a southward flight, if you look to the west you may catch a quick glimpse of an heroic statue of Vercingetorix; one of those statues that mark the very

Vercingetorix surrenders to Caesar at Alésia.

spot. It crowns the hilltop on which he made his famous surrender.

The other natural highway into France from the Mediterranean lies across the neck of the Spanish peninsula, a neck two hundred miles wide. Two-thirds of this distance is traversed by the Garonne, a fine river that flows northwestward from the eastern Pyrenees to Bordeaux. Starting at Narbonne on the Mediterranean side, one can follow up the valley of the Aude past Carcassonne to within fifty miles of Tou-

louse on the Garonne. The height of land of that fifty-mile water-shed is less than one hundred and fifty feet; an easy portage. Nature could hardly have contrived a more inviting highway. « For twenty centuries », writes Duruy, « men, goods, and ideas have passed along this route. It was one of the great

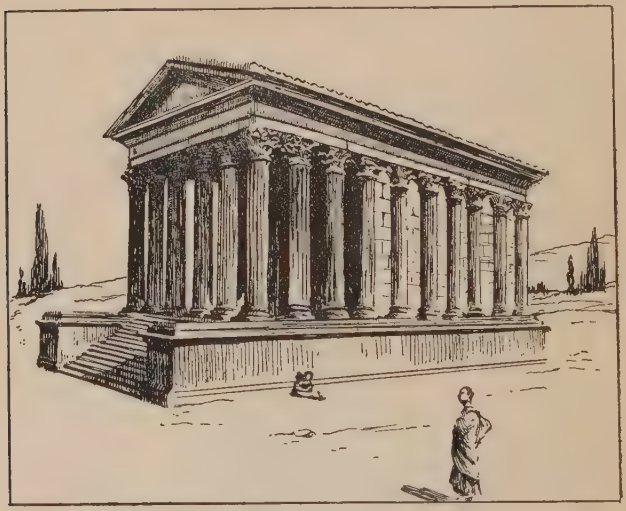


The *Pont du Gard,* an aqueduct built by the Romans near Nimes. As seen from up-stream, it is one of the most beautiful ruins in the world.

commercial routes of the Gauls. The Romans, and after them the Visigoths, followed this path to the conquest of Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Poitiers. The Franks, in their turn, traversed the same route in the opposite direction to reach Narbonne. » Today it is a popular highway for American invaders who motor between Biarritz and the Riviera.

These then were the two easy and natural entrances

for Mediterranean civilization into what is now France. Then it was Gaul, a wild and heavily wooded country inhabited by scattered and nearly barbaric tribes. The population was less than an eighth of what it is today. Rome governed this country and governed it well for more than four hundred years. There are



The *Maison Carrée,* built by the Romans at Nimes. It is almost perfectly preserved today.

beautiful monuments of that time in many parts of France, but especially in Provence and in Languedoc. There they are wonderfully preserved. They make the ancient Gallo-Roman civilization seem very real, almost recent.

Thus government and civilization came to France from the south, but from the northeast, from over the Rhine, were to come destroyers of that civilization. With these destroyers came those who later became

rebuilders. Among the invaders from over the Rhine were the Franks, blond barbarians who provided leadership and a new name for the nation that was to develop in ancient Gaul. The Franks crossed the Rhine five centuries after Caesar had come up from the south. Some of them settled along its western bank, but others, the Salian Franks, settled in Flanders. From these Salian Franks came the first kings of France.

Such were the great invasions by land, rivers of men flowing as naturally as rivers of water. But what of invasions by sea? Here too wide gates were open. Consider that long western coast that borders for hundreds of miles the Channel and the Atlantic. Here too nature aids invasion and invaders were sure to come as soon as adventurous men learned to brave stormy seas. Out of the north they came. From harsh and rigorous lands that now are Norway and Sweden and Denmark came the northmen or Normans. At once you think of Normandy which names the principal region they pillaged and conquered. It was ceded to them by Charles the Simple, King of the Franks, in 911, some four hundred and sixty years after the Franks themselves had crossed the Rhine. Hardly well settled in Normandy, the Normans conquered England and became for a time enemies of France, but finally, as nature had made inevitable, Normandy became « joined to the crown » and one of its brightest ornaments.

It was only after the Norman invasion that France began to be France. It appeared to require this succession of invasions to stir a scattered and disunited population into something approaching unity, to give strength and spirit to resist, successfully in the end, the many invasions that were to follow.

Nothing shows more clearly than the location of cities the effect that the lay of the land has upon human

behavior. Consider some of the great cities of France in this respect. Consider them in relation to those original and natural highways, the rivers and the sea. To quote Duruy again, « the great valleys of France are those of the Seine, the Loire, the Rhône and the Garonne. Each has within it two great cities, one maritime, the other agricultural and industrial. This curious parellelism is explained in each case by the same causes. Life, abounding in these rich basins, naturally concentrates itself at two points to answer the two great interests that great rivers serve, the exploitation of the land and of the sea. The Seine has Paris and Rouen; the Loire, Orléans and Nantes; the Rhône, Lyon and Marseille; the Garonne, Toulouse and Bordeaux. Bordeaux can turn only to the sea and has never in itself possessed a continental influence. Toulouse, which rivals Paris in position at the entrance of many valleys and in the center of a fertile river basin, has had a brilliant history and still claims the title « Queen of the South ».

As to climate, France has a number of kinds. On this basis her territory may be divided into seven regions, each quite distinctive as to year-round weather conditions. The *climat Parisien* spreads over the largest area, that of north-central France. It is comparable to that of San Francisco with something more of cold in winter. East of it comes the climate of the Vosges, the most nearly of all French climates like that of northern United States, with emphasis on sparkling, old-fashioned winters, and not so much heat in summer. Westward one comes to the *climat Breton*. like that of Maine in summer, but much milder than that of Maine through windy winters. The climates of Aquitaine, of Auvergne, and of the Rhône valley have characteristics all their own, but down along the Mediterranean one comes again into a kind of climate

familiar to Americans, at least to Americans who know Florida or southern California.

These various climates indicate strikingly that great variety characteristic of France, variety made into unity by ease of intercommunication. Differences in climate are merely expressions of differences in the distribution of heat and moisture. That these differences are great in France is in turn a consequence of her diversified topography plus the dissimilarity of Atlantic and Mediterranean influences.

The well-known though now somewhat discredited Gulf Stream is held accountable for the mildness of the climate of northwestern France and of southern England. Americans are nearly always impressed by the persistent softness of the air of northern France. In the mildness of a Paris winter, despite its penetrating chill and damp, it is hard to realize that you are as far north as Labrador.

The combination of the Alps, the Mediterranean, the Massif Central, and the valley of the Rhône is responsible for the climatic variations and eccentricities of the south. Have you not heard of the mistral, a nerve-wracking wind that sweeps down the Rhône valley and is one of the old « curses » of Provence? In the old days, it is reported, a man who murdered his wife got special consideration if he could prove he did it while the mistral was blowing.

In very ancient days, in geological times, when the sea covered most of France, there were three large islands there. Those ancient islands are now represented by the Massif Central, by Brittany, and by the Vosges and Ardennes. This was long before those comparatively young peaks, the Alps, had appeared. These prehistoric islands resulted from volcanic upheavals. More than two hundred extinct craters exist in the Massif Central.

During long ages these high islands were worn down by rain and by streams, and much of their substance was spread out as sediment in the shallow seas by which they were surrounded. Then there came a great uplift, an uplift that left England a peninsula of the Continent. The formation of that narrow strait between England and France that has had so much to do with history was, like the uplift of the Alps, a much later and a comparatively recent event. The white cliffs of Dover and those of Normandy are all of one piece as to formation. William the Conqueror had at least a geological sanction for his ambition to add England to Normandy.

Latest of all, geologically speaking, came the age of glaciation. Its effects, though not so profound in France as in the United States, gave to the topography of northeastern France its modern aspect and to the Rhine its historic course.

Then man appeared. No country is richer than France in records of prehistoric man. Aquitaine is a great laboratory for the study of human origins. You should go to the museum in the chateau at St-Germain to see abundant evidences of that, and particularly the great maps that show the distribution of France's prehistoric population. In the whole history of humanity it was prehistoric man who had perhaps the best though an enforced opportunity to discover through painful trial and error the most desirable places to live. It is impressive that he greatly favored France, and particularly those secluded gardens of nature that lie in the valleys of the Vézère and of the Dordogne. The persistence of his successors in living there confirmed the wisdom of his choice.

At St-Germain you may also see interesting reconstructions of Caesar's campaigns, and of Gallo-Roman towns and villages. But the excellence of the museum should in no way deter you from going to see the

visible evidences in place. You should go into valleys that lie southeast of Perigueux. Enter the cave homes of men of the stone ages, and feel, if you can, your kinship with those remote ancestors whose amazing handiwork confronts you there. There you may see, as you may see nowhere else in the world, the evidences of continuous human cultures through more than two hundred centuries. Then you should go to Carnac in Brittany and see those long rows of great stones set up on end in some heroic devotion, by some titanic, unknown means, an expression of the tremendous zeal of a long-forgotten race of which no other kind of record now remains.

CHAPTER TWO

A PREVIEW OF THE KINGS.

This chapter points out that to become familiar with the history of old France is not as difficult as you may have believed Thumb-nail sketches are presented of the sixteen pre-Renaissance kings whom you should remember. You may quite reasonably forget the others.

The history of France is not hard. A little systematic study makes it easy to carry in mind its major outlines. The succession of the kings, after the kings began to count, is much simpler than the succession of the kings of England. That makes it easier to construct, as to France, a mental diagram within which to arrange the facts. Twenty hours may suffice to establish in mind the outlines of the picture. The permanence of that mental picture will depend upon how much you subsequently look at it, touching it up here and there.

Memorize the main facts as to ten or a dozen of the important kings, and then, around the nuclei thus created, knowledge is almost sure to grow. We do not mean to exaggerate the importance of the kings. They are important only as their performances were a measure of the progress or of the restraint of their subjects, significant only as their reigns were marked by social progress or relapse. But, quite apart from that, they are of service to students of history in being helpful aids to study. They may not have made history, but they did make history easier to learn.

From Pepin the Short to Louis XVI, from 751 to

1793, there were forty-five kings of France. Of these only twelve are of primary importance as men of merit in themselves. Of these twelve, nine fall in the scope of this volume. Six others in this volume are important, not for themselves, but on account of what happened while they wore the crown. That gives you only sixteen pre-Renaissance kings to remember, Clovis making the sixteenth. He came before 751.

The following are the sixteen we mean, the names of those of major importance being printed in capitals:

CLOVIS.
CHARLEMAGNE.
Charles II the Bald.
Charles III the Simple.
HUGH CAPET.
Philip I.
LOUIS VI the Fat.
PHILIP II Augustus.
LOUIS IX Saint Louis.
PHILIP IV the Fair.
Philip VI.
John the Good.
CHARLES V the Wise
Charles VI the Well-Loved.
CHARLES VII the Well-Served.
LOUIS XI.

Once you can give the main facts in connection with the reigns of these sixteen monarchs, and can recall certain contemporary kings of England and dukes of Normandy and Burgundy, you may consider the foundation for your acquaintanceship with old France fairly laid.

The following miniature preview of the significant sixteen may be of service.

Clovis (481-511) was the first king of the Franks to be converted to Christianity. The support of the Church combined with his own abilities led to victories over Visigoths and Burgundians and to the establishment of the Merovingian dynasty. He is the only representative of that dynasty included in this list. He married Clotilde, a Burgundian princess, and was baptized at Reims by Saint-Remi.

Charlemagne (768-814) was crowned emperor at Rome in the year 800. His empire included Germany

and much of Italy and Spain as well as France. His remarkable reign was the one bright interlude in the Dark Ages. His great abilities were administrative as well as military. After his death, his empire quickly fell to pieces. The Carolingian dynasty gets its name from Charlemagne.

Charles II the Bald (840-877) was a grandson of Charlemagne. He became king of the French part of his grandfather's empire after the battle of Fontanet and the treaty of Verdun. Germany, and a third kingdom called Lotharingia, went to other grandsons of the emperor.

Charles III the Simple (893-923) came at a time when the power of the kings had greatly waned. Norman pirates ravaged the country and the lack of strong government brought on the Feudal Ages. The great event of this Charles's reign was his cession of Normandy to the Normans in 911.

Hugh Capet (987-996) gave the name Capetian to that long dynasty that ceased to reign only at the end of the Eighteenth Century. He inaugurated a remarkable policy that enabled his successors, despite many vicissitudes and narrow escapes, to keep the crown continuously in the Capet family. All that we know about Hugh goes to prove that his courage and his ability were both admirable.

Philip I (1060-1108). The only reason for including Philip is that during his reign his vassal, William of Normandy, made, in 1066, his famous conquest of England. This event had greatly to do with the history of France as well as of England. It is much more important, however, to know about William the Conqueror than to know about Philip.

Louis VI the Fat (1108-1137) better deserves to be called Louis the Battler. He did some remarkable battling with his own lords, and especially with Henry I of England and Normandy, son of William the Con-

queror. This Louis was the first of the Capetians to make the king at least equal in power with the great feudal lords.

Philip II Augustus (1180-1223) went on the Third Crusade with Richard the Lion-Heart. Returning ahead of Richard, he began the conquest of Normandy and finished it in the reign of Richard's perfidious brother John. Philip had great ability. He built a new wall around Paris and did much to strengthen the kingdom.

Louis IX Saint Louis (1226-1270) was the greatest of the kings of France in goodness and among the greatest in ability. He was the last of the royal crusaders and the first king to be trusted by everybody. Much credit needs to be given to his mother, Blanche of Castille, who, as regent during her son's minority, overcame a number of formidable rebellions that were designed to overthrow the government.

Philip IV the Fair (1285-1314), the mystery king of France, was famous for his good looks and his cold heart. After an historic controversy, he overthrew the power of the pope and established its remnants at Avignon. He did much to enlarge the royal power in other ways, one way being his suppression with cruelty of the order of the Knights Templar. Feudality tottered under the blows that Philip dealt.

Philip VI (1328-1350) was the first of the Valois kings, a line descended from Charles of Valois, a brother of Philip the Fair. This Philip, like the first one, is included among the significant sixteen not on his own account but on account of what happened when he was king. Under him there began the Hundred Years' War with England, his royal opponent being Edward III. Edward based a spurious claim to the throne of France upon the fact that his mother was a daughter of Philip IV; he claimed that a grandson had a better right to inherit than a nephew Philip VI being a nephew. The

French were loyal to Philip VI, but the grandson defeated the nephew in the battle of Crécy, 1346.

John the Good (1350-1364) was good in name only. Under him the Hundred Years' War continued and grew worse for France. He lost the battle of Poitiers in 1356 and was made a prisoner there by the Black Prince, the famous son of Edward III. John made his second son, Philip the Hardy, duke of Burgundy and thereby perpetuated for long after his death the disastrous effects of his reign.

Charles V the Wise (1364-1380). This admirable king had tragic training as dauphin-regent while his father was a luxurious prisoner in England. In his reign the commoner Etienne Marcel became for a time master of Paris and out in the country there occurred the *Jacquerie*, a bloody uprising of the peasants against the nobles. Thanks to the abilities of Bertrand Duguesclin, the military genius of his day, the English were at this time all but driven out of France.

Charles VI the Well-Loved (1380-1422) was insane during the greater part of his life. Then France saw her darkest days. There was civil war between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians and foreign war with the English who, under Henry V, won the battle of Agincourt (1415). Charles signed the treaty of Troyes which provided that the king of England should be his successor. Mad Charles's wife was Isabeau of Bavaria, France's worst queen.

Charles VII the Well-Served (1422-1461), when dauphin, fled beyond the Loire. Paris and all northern France was held by the English and their allies, the Burgundians. Charles was well served first by Joan of Arc, and, later, by certain able ministers among whom Jacques Cœur is the most famous. Agnes Sorel, his mistress, and Yolande of Aragon, his mother-in-law, are others to whom in part the benefits of his reign are due. His reconciliation with

Philip the Good of Burgundy permitted the final expulsion of the English.

Louis XI (1461-1483) made a dishonorable record as dauphin, but a very distinguished record as king. He overcame enormous difficulties, especially those he had with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Once Charles was out of his way, Louis dealt such blows to those hostile to him within his kingdom that the royal power was firmly established and greatly extended. His reign marks the end of the Middle Ages and the beginnings of the Modern Era. His ruthless and perfidious methods have been criticised, but the results he achieved were remarkably beneficial for France.

For reference purposes, there follows a chronological list of the kings of France from 751 until 1793, and of the contemporary kings of England.

The Kings of France from 751 until 1793.

Carolingians.

Pepin the Short, 751-768.
Charlemagne, 768-814.
Louis I the Pious, 814-840.
Charles II the Bald, 840-877.
Louis II the Stammerer, 877-879.
Louis III and Carloman, 879-884.
Charles the Fat of Germany, 884-887.
Eudes (Capetian family), 887-898.
Charles III the Simple, 893-923.
Raoul, 923-936.
Louis IV d'Outre-mer, 936-954.
Lothaire, 954-986.
Louis V, 986-987.

Capetians.

Hugh Capet, 987-996.
Robert the Pious, 996-1031.
Henry I, 1031-1060.
Philip I, 1060-1108.
Louis VI the Fat, 1108-1137.
Louis VII the Young, 1137-1180.
Philip II Augustus, 1180-1223.
Louis VIII, 1223-1226.
Louis IX Saint-Louis, 1226-1270.
Philip III the Hardy, 1270-1285.
Philip IV the Fair, 1285-1314.
Louis X the Quarreller, 1314-1316.
Philip V the Tall, 1316-1322.
Charles IV the Fair, 1322-1328.

Valois branch of Capetians.

Philip VI, 1328-1350.
John the Good, 1350-1364.
Charles V the Wise, 1364-1380.

Charles VI the Well-Loved, 1380-1422.
Charles VII the Well-Served, 1422-1461.
Louis XI, 1461-1483.
Charles VIII, 1483-1498.
Louis XII, 1498-1515.
Francis I, 1515-1547.
Henry II, 1547-1559.
Francis II, 1559-1560.
Charles IX, 1560-1574.
Henry III, 1574-1589.

BOURBON BRANCH OF CAPETIANS.

Henry IV, 1589-1610.
Louis XIII, 1610-1643.
Louis XIV, 1643-1715.
Louis XV, 1715-1774.
Louis XVI, 1774-1793.

The Rulers of England from 1042 to 1820.

Edward the Confessor, 1042-1066.
Harold, 1066.
William the Conqueror, 1066-1087.
William II Rufus, 1087-1100.
Henry I, 1100-1135.
Stephen, 1135-1154.
Henry II, 1154-1189.
Richard I, 1189-1199.
John, 1199-1216.
Henry III, 1216-1272.
Edward I, 1272-1307.
Edward II, 1307-1327.
Edward III, 1327-1377.
Richard II, 1377-1399.
Henry IV, 1399-1413.
Henry V, 1413-1422.
Henry VI, 1422-1461.
Edward IV, 1461-1483.
Edward V, 1483.
Richard III, 1483-1485.
Henry VII, 1485-1509.
Henry VIII, 1509-1547.
Edward VI, 1547-1553.
Mary, 1553-1558.
Elizabeth, 1558-1603.
James I, 1603-1625.
Charles I, 1625-1649.
Cromwell, 1649-1659.
Charles II, 1660-1685.
James II, 1685-1688.
William III and Mary, 1689-1702.
Anne, 1702-1714.
George I, 1714-1727.
George II, 1727-1760.
George III, 1760-1820.

CHAPTER THREE

CAESAR. ROMAN GAUL. TEUTONIC INVASIONS. THE BATTLE OF CHALONS.

Here the story really begins. A suggestion of what happened in France between the arrival of Julius Caesar and the departure of Attila. The Dark Ages may not have been as dark as they sound. Not much is told about Roman rule, but a good deal about the battle of Châlons. That was a battle you should know about. It happened in Champagne. On the way to Verdun, soon after you leave Châlons, you pass near where Attila had his camp. It is still marked on the maps.

When Caesar came to Gaul in 58 B. C. the land was almost covered by forests, and the long-moustached Gauls lived chiefly in thatched huts in the woods. They were very slightly civilized, so slightly that they would be considered savages to-day. The Romans called them barbarians. There were very few roads and very few towns. The people made pottery, weapons, and jewelry, but especially they made war; war on others and war on each other. They were quick to start a fight; dinners quite commonly ended in duels.

The Gauls were of the Celtic race. « The children of an infant world », Michelet called them, « whose genius was for movement, attack, and conquest. Sword in hand, they went forth to explore and to admire. They seemed less inspired by avidity than by a vague and futile desire to see, to know, to act. » They were jovial and curious, vain and optimistic. They loosed their arrows at the thunder and struck at the waves of

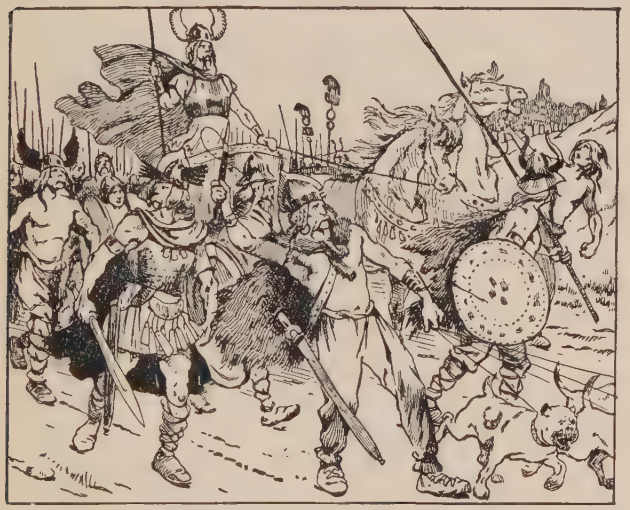
the ocean with their swords. Their point of honor was never to retreat. They would rush into battle with terrific cries, clothed only in their weapons. As ill-paid mercenaries, they fought for the sport of fighting in many distant parts of the Ancient World. You should not think, however, that the Gauls were the only ances-

The Gauls lived in thatched huts.
The walls were usually of clay. They kept pigs.

tors of the French; other and equally important elements entered into the making of the new nation that was to arise in ancient Gaul.

The Gauls were divided into many tribes and the tribes fought each other, particularly in spring and summer. Sometimes, however, some of the tribes would unite to fight a common enemy. Once, long before Caesar went to Gaul, a group of Gallic tribes invaded Italy. They went as far as Rome and nearly

captured that famous city. You remember the story; they were just about to capture it one night when some geese woke up and cackled, thereby saving Rome. Some accounts state, however, that the Gauls really did capture Rome, and that the goose story is goose with an early instance of apple-sauce. However that



A chief of the Gauls rides forth to battle.

may be, there is no doubt that Caesar conquered Gaul. All schoolboys who study Latin have read his own account of his campaigns there until usually they are so sick of the subject that we have touched upon it but lightly for fear of arousing painful memories. Under the rule of the Romans, Gaul became so civilized that the people were proud to be known as Gallo-Romans. Many fine cities were built and many long, straight roads laid down.

Then how did Gaul get to be France? That process was complicated and filled with adventures. It took a long time and a good deal of it occurred in one of the very shadowy parts of history, a part that is called the Dark Ages and for no better reason than that we know little about it. It was a long, dim period between two civilizations, the Ancient and the Modern. Some have the audacity to claim that people were nearly as happy without either of these well known civilizations as with them. The Dark Ages were, in fact, a sort of vacation from civilization from which the white race finally emerged, even healthier, perhaps, for its long, rough holiday.

The sun, we may not doubt, shone as brightly for the Dark Ages as ever it shines for us, and the countryside on fine days was as fair then as now. The mountains and valleys, the fertile plains and winding rivers, the long, sounding shores and the wide, blue waters of the seas — these all were there in place and as good then as today. The young people who lived then were probably unaware that they were living in darkness; as unaware as we are that some future age may call our own a dark one. No factories or great smoky cities smudged the landscape and hardly any pale-faced people hurried anxiously to unwelcome indoor tasks. By that much France was even fairer then than now. For a long time she lay like that at ease, a silent and beautiful country where there were many miles of landscape to every man, as it was in America before she was discovered. The country that was to become France was a marvellous playground for those boyish barbarians who invaded her and played there at fighting games.

People lived in peril then, as they still do, but the perils and the enemies were for the most part such as could be seen and understood. Things were simpler and more in the open. The luck of just being alive

was probably more highly esteemed than it is today, and the people, less worried by ambition and information, were more likely to have been content with such as they had. It was a very different world from the one we live in, but that alone does not prove that its inhabitants were less fortunate than we. It had virtues that we miss to-day; our missing them indicates

The Emperor Julian in the gardens of his palace at Lutetia. It stood where the Cluny Museum stands now.

kinship with that ancient scene, and recalls that nature compensates.

Far up a winding river from the western coast there lay a little, marshy island where a few fisher folk lived in thatched huts, protected and fed by the stream that surrounded their homes. That primitive settlement lay near the center of a wide natural basin from which four broad valleys led out like winding avenues, inviting men to follow them. The valley that made the outlet to the western ocean traversed a great chalky plain whose whiteness showed through its green mantle in little cliffs along the river. That was the valley of the Seine. The wide meanders of its lower reaches are marked by sculptured knobs that suggest

the bleached ribs of some buried giant, half-disinterred; perhaps a god of the Vikings who guarded this highway that they won and kept.

The Romans came to that little settlement in the marshes of the Seine and made a city there that they called Lutetia. The Emperor Julian loved Lutetia and lived there. Ruins remain of the arena and of the baths he built. And where Lutetia stood now Paris stands, gray pearl of all the cities of the world.

Wide and away from Paris to the east and north stretch billowy, fertile plains. There it is cold and misty of wintry mornings, but in the summer a lark sings over every field and scarlet poppies and lavender scabious blend with the yellow wheat. Across those flowery plains there came in the dusk of the Dark Ages heralds of the long holiday from civilization. They were tall and stalwart; fair-skinned men out of the German forests. They had battled their way across the distant Rhine, fought through the feebly held frontiers of the crumbling empire, and came on joyously to find what this pleasant land might yield. Their strong blows presently destroyed the weakened civilization Rome had built, but they helped to build another and a better in its place.

Look now on some rare morning when you ride out of Paris along the Soissons road and you shall see where passed in slender file the hardy Clovis and his men. They carried battle-axes for those who stood against them, but it must have been less disagreeable to have been invaded by battle-axes than by the machine-guns and heavy artillery of great modern armies that so recently passed that same way.

The newcomers from over the Rhine turned presently to fight valiantly beside the Gallo-Romans and to repel a horde of yellow men on shaggy ponies who came galloping in from the east. Then they turned again to the south and threw back a great invasion of

Arabs that had carried all before it. Later, there came to France the Vikings from the north, hardy Norsemen who rowed up the misty rivers. Looting as they went along, these fearless adventure-lovers spread over the land and, for a long time, held the upper hand.

These four great invasions were, for France, the outstanding features of the dark but not dull ages. There was also plenty of incidental fighting. The Dark Ages have a bad name. It seems clear, however, that they were not without their thrills. The pleasures of food and of outdoor sports were probably even keener than they are to day There was more of tang and of adventure. The perils of prosperity did not exist. Few financial considerations sapped courage away and people were not educated up to boredom and neurasthenics. Inescapable hardships made everybody hardy. You had to be hardy or your days were quickly numbered. When you had food it was because you worked for it, and to keep warm in winter was a real triumph. Every meal was an achievement; there was usually plenty of exercise for legs and arms in getting it. You did not wonder what you were going to eat; you wondered whether you were going to eat. Probably life went on rather pleasantly and adventurously most of the time. But many terrible things also happened and the few records that have come down to us tell more of terrible things than of pleasant ones, as newspapers do to-day.

The Dark Ages began with invasions, and invasions and big and little wars continued throughout. Nor did wars and invasions stop when the ages became less dark. The only thing that stopped was our lack of information. We know more about the light ages than we do about the dark ones, but, so far as war and some other human stupidities are concerned, one age appears to be just about as dark as another.

The first great invasions of Roman Gaul came from over that troublesome river, the Rhine. They began about 375 A. D. Beyond the Rhine lived many lean and hungry people who looked with longing eyes toward the richer and more fertile west. As the power of Rome weakened, the pressure by would-be emigrants upon her long line of defense became greater and greater. At last the dam burst and, about four centuries after Caesar led his legions up the valley of the Rhône, a great flood of barbarians came pouring in from those lean lands that now are Germany.

Of the various kinds of Teutonic tribes that came in this flood, or in the successive waves of it, three concern us chiefly. These three were the Visigoths, the Burgundians, and the Franks. Of these the Franks, least in number of the three, had most to do with making Gaul what she came to be. They gave to Gaul her new name France, and all her long line of kings.

It was not in a short time that these things happened. It took centuries. The little kingdom of the Frankish kings was at first like a rather small island in the great sea of what had been Roman Gaul. It was an island that grew and shrank only to grow and shrink again through many thrilling centuries. Even in modern days France has shrunk and grown again. In those early days, before France was France, this island that was to grow into all France was called an island. It was the Ile-de-France whose bannered lilies were at last to wave over all the proud duchies that, for so many years, threatened its existence.

The Franks, once safely over the Rhine, split into two groups. One group, known thereby as the Riparian Franks, settled along the banks of the river they had crossed. The other group, the Salian Franks, pushed on and settled well to the northeast of Paris, then a city of secondary importance. After they were

really settled and had done a little successful fighting, it was Soissons that became their first capital.

The history of France would have taken a different turn at this time had it not been for a certain yellow Mongolian from the plains of Tartary, one Attila the Hun. The flood of Teutonic, fair-haired barbarians that broke through the Roman defenses had had the speed of their migration greatly increased by hordes of Huns who were pricking them heartily from behind.

"The justice of Attila". Seated beside his little son, he witnesses the crucifixion of two prisoners.

Everybody at that time seemed to want to go west from wherever they were. The Huns especially were nomads who could not settle down. When their great leader Attila appeared, they came right on over; over the Rhine they came, worse than the plague of locusts and almost as numerous.

Attila called himself the scourge of God, which gives a good idea of what people thought about God at that time; they thought more of his punishments than of his rewards. Attila boasted that where he passed not one blade of grass should remain. His followers looked like wild Chinese. They were all mounted on

hardy little horses and went tearing along. They ate raw meat after stuffing it under their saddles for two or three days to make it tender. These reckless, hard-riding devils had everybody terrified.

The earlier invaders from over the Rhine, though rough in their ways and doing a lot of crucifying and head-splitting as they went along, were gentle as compared to the Huns. At least, they and their friends claim that they were. The blond barbarians killed a good many, but they let the great majority of Gallo-Romans go on living. Most of them lived as slaves, to be sure, and they lost much of their property, but they kept their health; health then, even more than now, seemed more important than property. A good many of the Gallo-Romans were clever enough to get on good terms with their new masters, even to become their friends and advisers. They taught the Franks, the Burgundians and the Visigoths a number of things about Roman civilization and comforts of living, and these teachings were appreciated.

So they were settling down in Gaul as a more or less happy family in a rough sort of way when along came the Huns. Farewell to any dream of peace! To arms! Franks, Burgundians, Visigoths and Gallo-Romans marched together against the common enemy. By that time the hordes of Attila were not very far from Paris. Sainte Geneviève, the patron saint of Paris, lived then. In the Pantheon there are great and famous mural paintings that show how she encouraged the people of Paris in this time of terror and watched over them by night.

A Roman, Aetius, was chosen as leader of the army that marched to fight the Huns; evidently Roman military methods were still held in high esteem even if Rome herself was down and nearly out. They met the enemy on the plains of Châlons, Châlons in Champagne, Champagne whose record in battles is even more

illustrious than her record in bottles. Then there occurred one of the great battles of all time; the battle of the plains of Châlons, in the year 451. Details of this encounter are meagre, but we know that Attila, to everyone's surprise, was defeated, This result seemed to be an even greater surprise to the victors than to the

Sainte Geneviève encourages the Parisians who are terrified at the approach of Attila.

vanquished. They could not believe their eyes when they saw the Huns retreating. They were much too happy or too exhausted to follow up and finish off the beaten Mongolians, which might have been better for the future peace of Europe. The allied army seems to have sat around in a sort of daze wondering what had happened. Perhaps they got into arguments as to who won the war.

There always has seemed something unexplained

about the victory of Châlons. It was as though Attila suddenly decided to go and fight somewhere else where fighting was easier. Whatever the reason, he marched away in good order, and passed victoriously down the Danube valley. He was a mighty man and remained

Defeated near Châlons, Attila mounted on a pile of saddles and defied his conquerors. They let him retreat in good order.

the terror of Europe until the end of his long and always violent life.

One more thing about the battle of the Châlons plains; Mérovée was there. At that time Mérovée was the king of the Salian Franks, and a king of the Franks at that time was merely that one of their number chosen by the warriors to lead them in battle. In time of peace, if any, he was considered no better than any other good fighting man. There was more democracy about those old fighting tribes than there ever was

again in France until after the Great Revolution.

We know practically nothing about Mérovée except that he was a king of the Salian Franks and that he was present at the victory over Attila. The only reason for mentioning him now is so that when you hear of Merovingian kings you will have an idea how they came to have that name. There were three series of kings in France, the Merovingians. the Carolingians, and the Capetians. The Merovingians were descendants of Mérovée and took the name of their dynasty from him. We come to them next.

CHAPTER FOUR

CLOVIS. GALLO-ROMANS AND BARBARIANS. CHURCH OF ROME. ARIANISM. CONVERSION OF CLOTILDE.

Clovis, the first real king of the Franks, now appears. He was the strongest man on the scene and the Church of Rome was the best organization. Combined they were irresistible. A remarkable record in salesmanship is here revealed. A Burgundian princess becomes an orthodox Christian and attains a permanent place in history.

Mérovée was succeeded by Childeric, and Childeric by his son Clovis. It was just thirty years after the retreat of Attila from the plains of Châlons that the stalwart young Clovis, still a boy, became king of the Salian Franks. It was a very small kingdom indeed that he had at the beginning of his reign. He began as a boy chief of not more than five thousand warriors. Yet before his rather brief reign was over, hundreds of thousands yielded obedience to him. From such a small beginning there developed the great kingdom of the Franks, a kingdom that extended over nearly all of ancient Gaul.

Transportation facilities were very inferior in those days, yet Clovis moved rapidly. He must have spent a considerable part of his life in the saddle. Events moved with him. His amazing success needs explanation. It is clear that other things had even more to do with it than did his own bravery, activity and intelligence.

When Clovis became king, the great majority of all

the people in France were the Gallo-Romans. It is believed that there were then about eight million of them, whereas all the Teutonic invaders taken together numbered only a few hundred thousand. The total pop-

The boy Clovis was raised upon a shield by the Frankish warriors when they chose him to be their king.

ulation of what is now France was then hardly a fifth of what it is to day. Though the Gallo-Romans outnumbered their conquerors nearly fifteen to one, there appears to have been no effort to oust the conquerors. Industrious and intelligent though the Gallo-Romans were, four hundred years of civilization had sapped their eagerness for battle. Perhaps that proves their intel-

ligence. They had found peace more interesting than war, and now they preferred a frying-pan to a fire. Peace did not bore them as it evidently did bore the blond barbarians. They had discovered a number of things in life more satisfactory than fighting; art for one. Evidence of that is found among the ruins of many of their cities.

The organization of Gallo-Roman society crumbled rapidly into decay in the presence of the boisterous and hard-hitting invaders. The Gallo-Romans continued to hold only a few walled cities, and between these there were no regular lines of communication. There was no coordinated Gallo-Roman government. The invaders were everywhere masters of the countryside. If they left the invadees unmolested in their few walled cities, that was because it bored them to lay siege. Under the circumstances, the terrified and peace-loving Gallo-Romans were ready to welcome any strong leader who would provide any semblance of safety when they ventured out from behind strong walls.

Besides all these leaderless people, there were the Visigoths and the Burgundians for the Franks to reckon with. There was no love lost between these three groups of cousins. The Visigoths and the Burgundians were much more numerous than the Franks, and they had been just as warlike, but they had passed on from the north into the south. The Burgundians had gone to the southeast and the Visigoths to the southwest where they were masters of Spain as well as of southwestern Gaul. The Burgundians had gone in the direction of Nice and Monte Carlo, while the Visigoths were lolling in the climate of Biarritz and San Sebastian. The old invigorating hardships were no longer present. Life in the south, particularly when it is civilized and luxurious, seems to have a weakening effect upon northern people. It certainly had a weakening effect upon the Burgundians and the Visigoths.

When they finally met the warriors of Clovis, they were not the men they once had been. The hardy Franks had remained in the hardy north where men are more likely to stay hard.

Thus young Clovis entered upon a stage well set for conquest. However, the most important factor in his success is still to be mentioned. That factor was the Church of Rome. Clovis was a heathen and he remained a heathen all his days in spite of being baptized, and yet the greatest factor in his success was the support of the orthodox Christian Church. You may recall that Christianity, although for a long time illegal, made great progress before the fall of the Roman Empire. Christian martyrs were torn to pieces by wild beasts in Roman arenas, but Christianity kept on growing. At last the government removed the ban upon it. It had to. The majority was for it. Christianity had thriven on persecution and martyrdom.

Then came the Teutonic invaders and ravaged the whole of the Christian world. They invaded Italy and sacked Rome. It was not Gaul and Spain alone that invited their attention. Those called Vandals even set up a kingdom in northern Africa. In the chaos that followed, the one organization that had strength and wisdom and courage enough to withstand the storm was the Church. The wisest and some of the most fearless men of those days were found among the bishops. They were very real and vigorous men, some of those early martyrs, no matter how pale and anaemic they look now as saints in stained glass windows. They lived strenuous, devoted lives, seeming to thrive upon uncertainty, upon chaos.

The great problem of the bishops was to gain influence with the new powers that ruled the world to the end of making Christianity prevail over the worship of heathen gods. That was a considerable undertaking under the circumstances. The one important

item in their favor was the fear, the fear born of ignorance, that was in men's minds.

Those blond battlers from the north, fearless in fighting, contemptuous of any danger they could see and understand, were like timid children in the dark when in the presence of powers they could not understand. They had seen the lightning and they knew its power. They had heard the thunder and trembled before its majesty. Aware and afraid of powers above them greater than they, they had peopled the heavens with gods. Of these gods in turn they were afraid, offering to them their prayers fearfully. Love was remote from their religion, and forgiveness was a sign of weakness. Their faith was based on ancient, immemorial fears, but tinged with the faint hope that they might, through sacrifices and other rites, divert the wrath of stern and pitiless gods to their enemies rather than to themselves. With all this they had no abiding confidence in their own beliefs, no real affection for their own religion. It was a religion of despair. Persuade them once that another was better, more advantageous and more agreeable, that the old deserted gods would not take instant vengeance, do that, and you had them sold. But it was a delicate bit of salesmanship to undertake. Many a missionary met a speedy end before he could even explain what he had to offer.

Another complication was that there had been a split in the orthodox Church. A considerable group had separated from the Church of Rome under the leadership of one Arius. The Arians would not accept Christ as God, but only as an intermediary between God and man. Mild as that distinction may seem to us now, it was enough then to bring down upon the Arians the bitter wrath of the mother Church. The Church of Rome claimed and vigorously maintained, then and later, an exclusive patent on Christianity. She would

endure no tampering with her model. To remain Christian in her eyes you had to accept official control, including the dictation of the pope as to just what to believe and what not to believe. Otherwise you were a heretic, and that, from the standpoint of the Church, was somewhat worse than being a murderer.

The Gallo-Romans at the time of the invasions were for the most part orthodox Christians, yet it was the Arians who had the first success in converting some

Missionaries were often unsuccessful among the barbarians. The picture indicates the fate of Saint Boniface in the German forests.

of the new conquerors to Christianity. Mother Church, for once, was caught napping. At the time Clovis began to reign, the Visigoths and the Burgundians had accepted Arianism. It was high time for the Church of Rome to bestir herself if she was not to lose all Gaul to the new sect.

The Church began to plan her campaign. The first thing she needed was a strong group to fight for her against the Arian groups. It was no use going among those barbarians already converted to Arianism to try to persuade them they had been sold an inferior kind of Christianity. Those rough and ready children of nature would hardly have been able to appreciate

the delicacies of the argument. It would have bored them, and it was particularly perilous to bore them. They had a hasty way of cleaving the head of a bore.

It was not a healthy time for makers of long speeches, wherein we may note another of the advantages of the Dark Ages over modern days. Some years later, a highly ornamented emissary of one of the rich cities of Italy came out to parley with a band of marauding Normans. He got a hearing, and, as he sat on horseback, began his speech. It is not recorded how long he talked, but evidently too long; too long at least for one of the children of nature who had to listen. This bored child lifted his mighty fist and with one blow, so we are told, killed the horse and nearly ruined the speechmaker. His mates thereupon unanimously voted him an extra share of booty. The bore-killer was a popular hero.

But at the court of the king of the Burgundians some wily missionary evidently got in his work when there was no bore-killer around. It was to a lady, however, that he told his story. Even a barbarian, when a lady, may like to listen to a soft speech. It appears that this lady was not bored. The court of the Burgundians was at that time at what is now Geneva. Perhaps the story was told on some fine evening when the moon came over the mountains and shone on the lake. Whether the moon and the missionary were there together or not, it is a fact that Clotilde, the niece of Gondebaud, King of the Burgundians, became an orthodox Christian. Princess Clotilde little realized as she loitered, if she did loiter, along the lake shore with that young missionary that the decision she made was to change the whole history of the western world.

CHAPTER FIVE

CLOVIS AND SAINT REMI. THE VASE OF SOISSONS. COURTSHIP OF CLOTILDE. BATTLE OF TOLBIAC. BAPTISM OF CLOVIS.

Clovis reveals the instincts of a good politician. So does Saint Remi. Craft wins for Clovis a Burgundian bride who makes a sensational escape to join her bridegroom. After the battle of Tolbiac, one of the world's most famous baptisms occurs at Reims. Clovis grows in power thereby and thereafter.

Clovis was only fifteen when he was raised upon the shields of the Frankish warriors. That was their ancient way of pledging loyalty to a new king. The headquarters of the Salian Franks were then at Tournai, near what is now the Belgian border. The nearest important representative of the Church was a vigorous young bishop who had his headquarters in an old Gallo-Roman city in Champagne. That young bishop is now known as St Remi, and the old city which was once his headquarters is Reims. It was named for him.

St Remi had his eagle eye upon Clovis. He realized that in this young king there were great possibilities for the Church whose affairs in Gaul were now in almost desperate state. No one knew better than St Remi how desperate the case was. He knew that if the Church remained limited in authority to the crumbling elements of Gallo-Roman society, she too, in Gaul at least, would crumble with them. Mother Church was in grave need of new and strong recruits from the ranks of the winning side.

So the vigilant bishop of Reims kept well informed of what was going on in the camp of the Salian Franks. He was not to be caught napping if there was the slightest opportunity to win the favor of Clovis. Years went by before that opportunity came, but when it came St Remi was ready to act. It came in the form of hostilities that broke out between the Salian Franks and a Gallo-Roman group led by the Roman Syragius. When Clovis sent a challenge to Syragius, St Remi promptly declared himself in favor of Clovis; in favor of the heathen and against the Christian. It is reported that emissaries sent by the bishop guided the Frankish army through the impenetrable forest of the Ardennes. Thanks to this assistance, Clovis was able to fall upon his enemy unexpectedly. He defeated Syragius in the battle of Soissons, which, after that, became the capital of the Salian Franks.

Here comes in the much told story of the vase of Soissons. It isn't much of a story, but it shows how a king of the Franks stood in those days with his subjects, which was just about how a bandit leader stands with his fellow bandits. It also shows that Clovis had sound political instincts; that he knew when to act and when not to act. Throughout his career he revealed remarkable ability in picking the right psychological moments.

In the campaign against Syragius there naturally had been looting. In the booty there was a sacred vase that had been taken from a church. Now when it came to dividing up loot among the looters, it was the rule to do it by lot. In the drawing the king was supposed to have no advantage over the other warriors. When this particular loot of the Soissons campaign was about to be divided, there came a messenger from St Remi to ask in the bishop's name that the sacred vase be returned to the church. Considering

the help he had had from the bishop in getting through the Ardennes woods, Clovis was inclined to grant this request. He proposed that the vase in question be given to him in addition to his regular share.

« Not at all », responded one of his stalwarts. « You get exactly what's coming to you in the draw, and

The breaking of the vase of Soissons.

nothing over. » Then, to settle the matter definitely, this early resister of innovations smashed the vase. Clovis said nothing. He didn't dare. The time was not ripe for reform in the matter of booty division. Clovis, like other successful politicians, knew when to dodge an issue. So he acted as though the matter was really of no importance, biding his time.

When the big review came the next spring, the review they always had at the opening of the looting season, Clovis decided to clear up the vase question

before they started. He knew they were all eager to start and that was in his favor. Now was the time to settle who was boss, and to stop any back talk in the future. As he inspected the lined-up warriors, he came to the vase-smasher and took his arms. He said they were dirty and threw them on the ground. When the man bent down to pick them up, Clovis smote swiftly and killed him with his battle-axe, crying out, « Remember the vase of Soissons ».

This swift judgment and execution may have caused some dissatisfaction in the ranks, but, since they were all lined up and ready to go, and the campaign for booty required harmony in the party, Clovis got away with it. After that he appears to have had them all eating out of his hand. He had picked the right time.

Meanwhile St Remi kept getting on better and better terms with Clovis, but he couldn't manage to convert him. He had him interested all right, but here again the political instinct of the young king was for delay. Clovis knew the time had not come for a change in the religious policy of the administration. He knew his warriors would go back on him if he turned Christian without reasons that seemed to them sufficient. Besides, the heathen gods had been serving them pretty well up to now.

So St Remi tried another scheme. He put it up to Clovis that it would be a good idea for him to marry Clotilde, the Christian princess of the Burgundians, thus undermining one of his great rivals, her uncle Gondebaud. This sounded like a good scheme to Clovis in case it could be managed tactfully. He already had a wife and child, but the bishop said he would issue a divorce which would smooth away that difficulty. The most tactful man available was sent to Geneva disguised as a beggar, and carrying a ring of Clovis. This ring he was to try to get Clotilde to accept in token of betrothal.

When the bishop's messenger, Aurelian, arrived at the great gate of Geneva he found Clotilde, so the story goes, seated there, as her pious custom was, engaged in washing the feet of the poor foot-sore travellers who arrived. Aurelian awaited his turn, and then bent down and whispered, « Princess, I have

Clovis makes an example of the breaker of the vase, and thereby increases his authority.

come with big news. Can't you take me somewhere where we can talk ? »

« Go on », replied Clotilde, « tell me some more. »

« Well », said Aurelian, « Clovis, King of the Franks, has sent me. He wants to marry you, and here is his ring to prove it. »

This evidently was pleasant news to Clotilde. She took the ring, and also a small coin that went with it and was supposed to bind the bargain. She then

handed Aurelian her own ring to give to Clovis, and also a reasonable tip. She told him to make good time back to his master, and to tell him to send a strongly armed band to talk the matter over with her uncle.

It need not be supposed that Clotilde was in love with Clovis. She had never seen him and probably knew very little about him. That may have been in his favor. But even more in his favor was the fact that she hated Uncle Gondebaud, an old sinner who had become king by murdering both of her parents. Besides that, he treated Clotilde very strictly. Ever since she had turned regular Christian, foot-washing at the city gate was practically the only recreation she was allowed to have. She was just dying for a chance to get away, and then to get even. The offer of Clovis looked like the desired chance.

The crafty Aurelian came again to Geneva, but this time he was not disguised as a beggar. This time he came as an ambassador with a well armed escort of Frankish warriors at his back. Gondebaud knew nothing of his first visit. When Aurelian proposed that Clotilde go back to Soissons with him and marry Clovis, Gondebaud, purple with anger, threatened to kill him for a spy. Certainly he did not want his niece to marry Clovis. He knew what she would try to do right after the wedding, and he knew that might not be healthy for him. But Uncle Gondebaud was evidently a slower thinker than his niece, for when Aurelian showed the ring of Clotilde, and Clotilde showed that of Clovis, and the assembled warriors, who must have been somewhat peeved themselves at Gondebaud, cried out that a bargain is a bargain and that the good old customs must be upheld, he didn't see anything to do but to give in. Aurelian had evidently known where to hand out the right presents the evening before.

Clotilde and Aurelian, with the escort of well armed

warriors, left at once. They got a good start before Gondebaud thought to have the gates shut, for they knew what to expect if they waited. Clotilde didn't stop even to pack a thing. They say she just jumped on a horse that was handy and lit out. Sure enough, Gondebaud sent a large band of murderers after them,

At the battle of Tolbiac, Clovis called upon the Christian God.

but the Christian princess Clotilde, knowing what to expect, burned all the villages as she passed, « leaving only a desert behind her ». Thanks to these precautions, this gentle bride came at last safely into the territory of the Salian Franks where her first words were, « Thank God, now I can get even with Uncle Gondebaud. » The marriage was celebrated at Soissons.

On the very day of the wedding, Clotilde asked Clovis to become a Christian, a regular Christian.

Clovis, perhaps on the principle of not giving a wife too much leeway at first, declined to commit himself. However, the mere fact that he had married a Christian promptly proved a good thing for him. The Gallo-Roman cities of Amiens, Beauvais, Rouen, and Paris opened their gates to him because he had married a woman of their own faith.

Clovis said that before consenting to be baptized he must see some convincing evidence of the value of the new religion over the old, evidence that would convince his warriors as well as himself. The chance for such evidence came at the battle of Tolbiac, a battle against rival Teutonic invaders. The issue of the battle was doubtful; indeed the day threatened to go against the Franks. It occurred to Clovis that here was a chance to put the new religion to the test. He cried out to his men to call upon the Christian God for victory, and see what that would do. It worked. The new cry gave them new enthusiasm, and confused the enemy. It was as good as reinforcements. The Franks won the day at Tolbiac, and then Clovis could be baptized without fear of offending his heathen followers. Indeed many of them were eager to be baptized with him. It was a sort of promise that had been made in the heat of battle, and that was a sort of promise they believed in keeping.

St Remi made a great show of the baptism of Clovis in the cathedral at Reims, which was, of course, not the present one. This famous baptism occurred in 496. When Clovis saw all the pomp and magnificence by which he was surrounded, he asked if he had not already entered into the kingdom of heaven.

« No », said St Remi, « this is not the kingdom of heaven, but here is the road that leads to it. Henceforward you shall destroy that which you have worshipped, and worship that which you have destroyed. »

The conversion of Clovis and his men produced a

great effect. Henceforth the Franks and the Gallo-Romans had the same religion. The pope flattered the Frankish leader by calling him « the eldest son of the Church », and the bishop of Vienne wrote, « Your

The baptism at Reims of Clovis and many of his warriors.

faith is our victory. When you fight it is we who triumph. »

In the year 500 Clovis made an expedition against the Burgundians and defeated them near Dijon. This expedition had his wife's enthusiastic approval. The Burgundian army fled and was pursued all the way to Avignon behind whose old walls, not the present ones, they could at last draw breath. The Franks, like all the other Teutonic invaders, did not care much about besieging fortified places. That took a lot of time and sitting around. So a treaty was made at Avignon

with the Burgundians. Gondebaud agreed to give up his Arianism, and to pay yearly tribute. Neither promise was kept very long.

A few years later Clovis fought against the Visi-

Clovis, having killed the king of the Visigoths, is attacked on both sides, but escapes.

goths, and defeated them near Poitiers. They withdrew

Clovis, scattering alms, passed in triumph through Tours where he was hailed by the Gallo-Romans as the successor of the emperors.

to the south of the Pyrenees. Upon his return from this expedition, Clovis, now master of nearly all Gaul, set up his capital in Paris and lived there until his

death in 511. By ruse or by assassination he rid himself of all his relatives so that he and his children became the only surviving members of the Mérovée family. Assassination appears to have been the approved and nearly necessary method in those days for centralizing government and avoiding civil war.

Clovis was the greatest of the Merovingians. That dynasty continued to thrive and to grow in power for more than a century after his burial in Paris, but it never again produced anyone who could compare with Clovis. This first real king in France died when he was only forty-five years old.

CHAPTER SIX

DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM. GONTRAN, CHILPERIC AND SIGEBERT. FRÉDÉGONDE AND BRUNEHAUT.

This chapter unavoidably contains a good many names, but Chilperic, Clotaire, and Galeswinthe are not bad names. Carlyle gave to one of them a certain renown when he wrote, « Wa, wa!, cried the wild Clotaire. » It is a bloody chapter. You need to know at least about Frédégonde and Brunehaut and the wild horse.

Clovis did not look upon France as a state to be governed. Naturally he had little idea of the state in the modern sense. For him and for the other Franks, France was simply territory to be exploited, a domain which was their private property. So, upon his death, following the old Teutonic custom, the territory over which he had ruled was divided among his four sons. Four little kings succeeded one great one. The four capitals of these four little kings were Metz, Soissons, Orléans, and Paris. This subdivision of territory was true to tradition, but false to any sound idea of statesmanship. Trouble was sure to come.

For a time these four little kingdoms remained at peace with each other. That was chiefly because they were occupied with enemies common to all of them. Other Teutonic tribes were ready and eager to cross the Rhine at the first good opportunity. They had to be held in restraint. The half-conquered Burgundians were eager to make all the trouble they could, and the Visigoths might come swarming up out of Spain at any time. Thus each little king had, to begin with,

an outside rather than an inside job to occupy his attention.

Thierry, the eldest son of Clovis, was king at Metz. He, alone of the four, was not a son of Clotilde. His mother was that pagan first wife of Clovis who was divorced to fulfil St Remi's plans. Thierry appears to have inherited more than the others of the aggressive, adventurous characteristics of his father. He led his men across the Rhine from west to east, contrary to the usual direction, fought against his Teutonic cousins, and extended his kingdom to the mountains of Bohemia. The son of Thierry went still further, fighting victoriously in Italy against other invaders there, Greeks and Ostrogoths, and pillaging whatever was left to pillage But the grandson died when he was young, and thus, in 555, ended the house of Thierry. But its name survives, even in American history, because of Château-Thierry.

The other sons of Clovis were egged on by their mother to attack the already half-suppressed Burgundians. She had never forgotten her ancient wrongs. Uncle Gondebaud was dead, but Clotilde wished to avenge upon Gondebaud's son Sigismond the sins of the father. Clotilde is now a saint. Miracles and many good Christian acts are accounted of her. They still show at Grand-Andely the spring whose water she made to taste like wine in order to placate workmen who threatened a strike on a church building job. Among her virtues, however, forgiveness was not one. Forgiveness, in fact, was hardly rated a virtue at that time.

« Act », said Clotilde to her sons, « in such manner that I may not regret the tenderness in which I have reared you. Let my ancient injuries arouse your wrath. Go and avenge the deaths of my father and my mother. »

The boys went, but they did not have as easy a time

with the Burgundians as their father had. Adversity had evidently strengthened the Burgundians. They fought back with much of their old-time vigor. The war continued for ten years, and the Franks were finally victorious at Autun in 534. Clodomir, one of the three brothers, was killed in this war. The defeated Burgundians, who had lapsed in their religion since the treaty of Avignon, now joined the regular Church for the second time.

The next expedition of the two remaining sons, who were Childebert and Clotaire, was an expedition into Spain to rescue a sister who was in trouble. This sister had married, foolishly as it turned out, a king of the Visigoths. One day a messenger came up from the south bringing to Childebert and Clotaire a blood-stained veil. That was enough to start a war. The brothers recognized the veil of their sister and started south to see why it had blood on it. They were always starting somewhere, and this big raid to the south appears to have been a particularly pleasant one, especially so after the hard going they had had against the Burgundians. The expedition was entirely successful and, it is recorded, yielded to the Frankish warriors a great quantity of booty. The abused sister was brought home, and the much deteriorated Visigoths freely admitted their defeat.

Now that the available enemies of the sons of Clovis were thoroughly suppressed, there was nobody left for them to fight except each other. They were not long in getting at that. It was the old story, the story of not being able to stand prosperity, the lesson that has never yet been learned. Wealth and idleness appear always to lead to behavior that reminds us how little actually we are removed from the sons of Clovis.

The brothers began to plot against each other. Competition swiftly replaced cooperation. There were grown up grandchildren of Clovis on the scene now

and they began to plot against their fathers, being egged on by their uncles. Thus Chramn, one of the sons of Clotaire, was persuaded by his uncle Childebert to start a revolt against his father. Uncle Childebert promised to help him, but the sudden death of this undesirable uncle left Chramn in a very embarrassing position. He fled for his life as far west as he could go, and that was to Brittany. There he was captured and was brought in chains before his father. Forgiveness was not to be thought of. This poor deluded Chramn, his wife and two daughters were all tied to beds in a little wooden cabin, and then the cabin was burned down.

Cruel Clotaire had, among others, one good wife. She was so good that she was made a saint. You are sure to hear of her if your travels take you to Poitiers. She was Radegonde, a daughter of a king of Thuringia in Germany. When a child, Radegonde came into Clotaire's power as part of the booty after one of his victories. He put her family to death, but saved Radegonde because she was beautiful, and compelled her to marry him.

After the marriage, she fled in horror from Soissons to Noyon where the bishop had the courage to make her, at her request, a deaconess. Then she had to flee again before the wrath of her pursuing husband. He followed her as far as Tours. She escaped to Poitiers. The bishop there intervened to protect her. He finally obtained the reluctant consent of her husband for her to found a convent of which she became the abbess. Clotaire declared that Radegonde had proved that she was better fitted to be a nun than a queen.

For thirty-seven years Radegonde lived at Poitiers where she became renowned for her good deeds. There you may visit a curious and very ancient church named in her honor. Poitiers is also the site of the Temple of Saint John which is perhaps the oldest of

all ecclesiastical buildings in France. It is even older than the Merovingian kings.

Clotaire, last of the sons of Clovis, lived only three years as king of the whole Frankish domain. On his death-bed he expressed astonishment that the king of heaven was powerful enough to overcome such a great king as he.

Then there came a new division of the territory. Clotaire, like his father, left four sons. One of them soon died. Redivision occurred. In this last division, Paris was left as property common to all three of the surviving kings. They were able to agree, at least for a time, about the division of all the rest of the heritage, but evidently Paris had already become too interesting for any one of the three to be willing to relinquish his claim to it.

In this last division no consideration seems to have been given to the southwestern part of France, the part lying between the Loire and the Pyrenees and known as Aquitaine. The Visigoths had been driven out of Aquitaine, but the Franks themselves had failed to occupy it. You could not blame the Franks for that. They had much more land than they needed already, and Aquitaine is a dry region, uncomfortably hot in summer, and much less fertile than the region they already occupied. This neglect of Aquitaine gave opportunity to the Gallo-Romans who lived there gradually to recover their independence.

The brother to whom Burgundy fell in the division was Gontran. He was very different from the others, who were Chilperic and Sigebert. He was more civilized than they were. He seemed actually to prefer peace to war, and frequently acted as peace-maker between his quarrelling brothers. Gontran also seemed to be fond of the subjects fate had given to him. Gradually he had less and less to do with the Franks.

and made his friends and selected his advisers from among the Gallo-Romans of his subjects. So Burgundy, even under a Frankish king, was more Bur-

The first division of the kingdom of the Franks among the sons of Clotaire, 561. Caribert died soon after.

gundy than France. The first of the great duchies was beginning to define itself. In those days it extended from Orléans all the way down to the Mediterranean, with rather ill-defined eastern and western sides. There were some troublesome Lombards in the south, but they were finally thrown back into Italy.

The principal domain of the Franks was that part of Gaul north of the Loire. In that region nearly all of them were established, and it was part of that region that was first called France. Chilperic, whose capital was Soissons, ruled over the western part of this territory. That part was called *Neustria,* which means western country. This was the more civilized part, the part where the Franks had been most affected in their manner of living by the Gallo-Romans among whom they lived, The result of this, on the whole, was bad for the Franks of Neustria. They naturally took more interest in Gallo-Roman vices than in Gallo-Roman virtues. While gaining in civilization they lost in strength, as the Burgundians and Visigoths had done before them.

The eastern region on the other hand, over which Sigebert ruled with Metz for his capital, remained rude and uncivilized, preserving the old Germanic customs. Sigebert's domain ran east from the Meuse to the Rhine, and was called *Austrasia,* which means country of the east. Nearly all the Gallo-Romans who had lived there had been either killed off in the many invasions that passed over the land, or else had fled to healthier climates. This region that formed Austrasia is the part of France that has always borne the brunt of invasions, then as in later years. The very nature of the region, its situation and its climate, make for hardship. Those who live there must perforce be rugged. Whenever it came to a struggle between the Austrasians and the Neustrians, the Austrasians had important advantages of nature on their side. Inventions to counteract the effects of nature were still far in the future. The Austrasians were fewer than the Neustrians, but they were fiercer. In the warfare of those days, fierceness was a great advantage. From the fall of Rome until the rise of artillery, it was nearly always the fiercer side that won. The strength to save

France was more than once to come out of Austrasia, out of those cold hills and bleak plains on the border of Lorraine whose western gateway is Verdun; Verdun where all the strength of France was to pour back again to save her on a later day.

The inevitable trouble between Neustria and Austrasia had for its immediate and apparent cause the hatred for each other of their queens, Brunehaut and Frédégonde. Hatred seems an almost inadequate word to describe the feeling these two ladies had for each other. Theirs was one of the champion hatreds of all history.

Brunehaut, who had married Sigebert of Austrasia, was a daughter of a king of the Visigoths. Chilperic, who had taken no princess for wife, appears to have had some jealousy about this marriage. Not to be outdone, he sent to the father of Brunehaut and demanded in marriage the hand of her elder sister, Galeswinthe. Galeswinthe was a reluctant bride. She gave ample proof that she had premonitions about Chilperic. He was a devil. Poor Galeswinthe did not survive long as queen of Neustria. Chilperic was already much taken with Frédégonde, a servant girl, presumably beautiful, at his palace. He soon tired of Galeswinthe in spite of her beautiful name and royal ancestry. Some say Chilperic killed her; others say it was Frédégonde, Whoever did it, Frédégonde succeeded Galeswinthe as queen, and from that day she had the undying hatred of Brunehaut, the able and energetic sister of poor dead Galeswinthe.

Frédégonde and Brunehaut were remarkable women. Consider the times in which they lived. Not a rumour had been heard of women's rights. Women were, in effect, slaves. Yet Brunehaut and Frédégonde appear to have had their great rough husbands, kings though they were, completely cowed. Brunehaut told Sigebert to start a war and he started it

even though he didn't want to, even though it was against his own brother.

That was a strange war. Neither of the brothers was keen about it, but there was no peace to be had at home unless war went on outside Their two wives kept them at it. Sigebert won a victory and then arranged a peace with Brother Chilperic before much damage had been done to either side. But the ladies were not satisfied. Sigebert hardly got back to Metz before Frédégonde made her Chilperic renew hostilities. This time Sigebert was really mad and decided to finish the job. He invaded Neustria and was successful everywhere. Finally he rounded up all the important Neustrian leaders at Vitry. There he persuaded these gentlemen that the sensible thing for them to do was to pledge fidelity to him instead of to Chilperic who by that time was far away. Then something happened. Two young friends of Frédégonde mixed in with the crowd and, getting near to Sigebert, they swiftly and accurately stabbed him with long, poisonous knives.

This political assassination saved the skin of Chilperic, a skin that was not worth saving. He was hiding at that time behind the walls of Tournai. He came out from behind the walls, but there was not a chance for him to get control of Austrasia. Brunehaut was very much on that job. She began to rule in the name of her small son, Childebert II, and she kept on ruling. Little Childebert, whose father had taken him to see the war, was saved after his father was stabbed, by being carried all the way to Metz hidden in a basket.

Frédégonde decided to give herself the same freedom of action her rival had. Evidently she couldn't bear arguments in the family circle. So she had Husband Chilperic stabbed to death, which appears to have been no better than he deserved. Previously, in similar manner, she had eliminated the three sons

Chilperic had by a previous marriage. So, in 584, Frédégonde also reigned supreme in her kingdom in the name of her small son, Clotaire II.

Thus Neustria and Austrasia seemed to be at the mercy of two furious women, neither of whom could be happy while the other one lived. All that saved the situation was the peace-loving character of Gontran of Burgundy. He promised Brunehaut to make her son his heir if she would not attack Neustria. And then Frédégonde died peacefully in 597.

Brunehaut lived on. Gontran of Burgundy died, and her son died, and then she tried to attack Neustria with the combined forces of Austrasia and of Burgundy. But she had overreached herself; the forces would not march. The Austrasian warriors decided they had had enough of Brunehaut, and they handed her over to her nephew, Clotaire the son of Frédégonde. He was a dutiful son, and did what his mother evidently would have wanted him to do. He had his venerable aunt, eighty years old then, tied by her hair to the tail of a wild horse and the wild horse set free. Thus the kingdom of Clovis came to be reunited once again under one king. Clotaire of Neustria fell heir to all of it in 613.

CHAPTER SEVEN

AUSTRASIA AND NEUSTRIA. DAGOBERT. MAYORS OF THE PALACE. EBROIN BEGINS.

Remember that Austrasia was east and Neustria west, and that, in old France, the easterners were the rougher. After « good king Dagobert », the kings became long-haired figure-heads who rode in ox-carts. The king's bouncer became the political boss. He gave young princes no chance to become real men. Clotilde's objection to a hair-cut brought fatal results to her grandsons.

The accession of Clotaire II to the entire kingdom did not indicate any real victory of Neustria over Austrasia. The real masters of the situation were those strong, rude lords of Austrasia who had delivered their queen up to the Neustrian king. Those powerful « lords » of Austrasia were direct descendants of leaders among the Teutonic warriors who had more or less settled down on the land which had been parcelled out among them. They had tired of Brunehaut chiefly because she had opposed them. She had tried to inaugurate Roman ideas of centralized power, meaning more power for her and less for the lords. This Roman idea of government had come to prevail in Neustria. There the Gallo-Romans were numerous and willingly supported a form of government to which they were already accustomed. But the wild lords of Austrasia were in no wise ready for that system. They insisted on their ancient rights and independence. So they allowed Clotaire II to reign in name only. Throughout his reign he was really the servant of the Austrasian lords and of those of Neustria who shared their ideas.

In the year 615 there was held at Paris a solemn assembly of seventy-nine bishops and many lords. This assembly produced what was called a perpetual constitution. What this constitution chiefly did was to take away from the king nearly all his power and property and transfer the same to the lords and bishops. Here was a long step toward the Feudal Ages.

The glory of the Merovingian dynasty flared up brightly once more before it died down forever. That was in the ten-year reign of « good king Dagobert », 628-638. Dagobert was called the King Solomon of the Franks. He knew how to put on a great deal of display, but his success was due to the wisdom of his counsellors rather than to much of his own. Chief among his wise counsellors were the Saints Eloi and Ouen whose names you will encounter again and again when visiting churches in France. Saint Eloi was bishop of Noyon. In addition to being an excellent bishop he was a skilful goldsmith; he forged an elaborate gilded throne for Dagobert. Saint Ouen was the bishop of Rouen; the church there that bears his name is one of the most beautiful in the world. Saint Ouen wrote a history of the life and good deeds of Saint Eloi around whose house, Saint Ouen wrote, miserable people gathered like bees around a hive.

Under Dagobert the famous abbey of Saint-Denis was established near Paris. There he was buried and nearly all the kings of France were buried there after him. His was an orderly reign over an increasing kingdom that came to extend even beyond the present boundaries of France, but it was a brief reign and at its end the glory of the house of Mérovée faded forever.

We have already observed that Aquitaine, so long neglected by the Frankish kings, achieved thereby a sort of independence. Dagobert saw fit to recognize this semi-independence by letting Aquitaine have a

king of its own, but a king named and controlled by him. He named as king of Aquitaine his brother Caribert. This was well enough during the life of Dagobert, but it meant a weakening of France at his death. When he died, Aquitaine was not included in the territory that was divided among his sons. Caribert continued to reign there.

There were two sons of Dagobert. They were Sigebert and Clovis. Sigebert II fell heir to Austrasia and Clovis II took Neustria and Burgundy. But these sons soon became kings in name only. A new order of things came in. Power passed from the kings to those who were called mayors of the palace.

A mayor of the palace appears originally to have been simply a particularly strong warrior chosen by the king to keep more or less order within the palace. The « palace » in those days was usually a rambling, stockaded group of wooden buildings crowded with noisy and quarrelsome fighting men. The mayor was, in effect, the king's bouncer. When any little trouble started among the warriors, he was supposed to get them to settle it outside. No doubt he was a busy man with plenty of practice in bouncing. Very likely he was the heavy-weight champion of his time. As the palace became more important, more people around and everything, the mayor became more important. He had assistants for the rough work while he himself became the master of ceremonies, next in importance to the king himself. Now if the king happened to be weak and lazy, as many of them were, the mayor was in a position to accomplish just about what he wanted. He was willing to save the king the trouble of settling any questions that came up. When it came to getting results, the mayor was the man to see. He was often more important than the king. Such kings as we still have with us are, it may be noted, usually of secon-

dary importance to somebody else in their own kingdoms when it comes to getting things done. That seems natural. The mayor of the palace was a sort of prime minister or dictator in embryo.

Since the mayors grew stronger as the kings grew weaker, they quite naturally helped the kings to grow

One of the *rois fainéants* taking the air in an ox-cart.

weak. They were in a good position to do this because they had charge of the young princes. So the princes were undoubtedly unfortunate in their educations, the mayors doing what they could to have them grow up into weaklings. In this the mayors succeeded admirably.

The period of the decadence of the Merovingians runs from 638 to 752. In that time they were of no more importance than dressed up dolls. They were usually kings in their cradle and old men by the time

they were twenty. They were kept indoors and shown off to the people only twice a year, particularly at the big spring review, the *champs de mars* or *champs de mai*. On such occasions they would be escorted out of the palace reclining on a canopy covered cart drawn by oxen. The hair of the Merovingian kings was never cut; that was a sign of royalty. So the people would see the long hair of their king on a cart and realize that the tradition was being kept up. Further than that they seemed not to care. The real power was centered in the mayors of the palace and their friends, and perhaps things were more democratic that way.

The importance of long hair for Merovingian kings was clearly shown by what happened to two of the grandsons of Clovis. Once your hair was cut, that automatically put you out of the running so far as becoming king was concerned. You will recall that Clodomir, one of the sons of Clovis, was killed in the fighting against the Burgundians. He left three small sons. Their grandmother Clotilde, then a widow, was greatly attached to these boys. That turned out to be unlucky for them. Their uncles, Childebert and Clotaire, became jealous of the queen mother's devotion to these nephews. They feared she would favor them too much in the matter of inheritance. Feigning friendliness, they asked that the boys be sent to them so they could turn over to these young princes certain property of their dead father. Clotilde was overjoyed at this unexpected evidence of peace in the family, and trustingly sent the boys to their uncles. Soon a messenger returned bearing a sword and a pair of scissors. Clotilde was asked to take her choice as to which should be used on the boys. In a burst of fury she cried out that she would rather see them dead than have their hair cut. The messenger took that message back and two of the boys had their throats cut instead

of their hair. Then their terrible uncles « rode tranquilly away ». The third boy was lucky enough to escape. He promptly cut his own hair and founded the monastery of St-Cloud near Paris. There may be those who would rate among the virtues of Sainte Clotilde this one of being a pioneer opponent of bobbed hair.

The mayor-of-the-palace plan was quite different in Neustria from what it was in Austrasia. In Austrasia the lords had the upper hand after the fall of Brunehaut. Also they had the upper hand in that assembly in Paris in 615 that promulgated the « perpetual constitution ». In that constitution it was stipulated that the mayors of the palace, instead of being named by the king, should be elected by the lords, and that the king should swear never to remove a mayor so elected. This worked out as per schedule in Austrasia and in Burgundy, but things took a different turn in Neustria. There the tradition had always been that the mayor was the protector of the king rather than the ally of the lords. In Neustria, the people, being mostly Gallo-Roman, favored that tradition, and the lords there were few and weak as compared with Austrasia and Burgundy.

Now there came to power in 669 as mayor of the palace in Neustria a very remarkable man. He was Ebroin, a Frank of obscure birth from the country near Soissons. Ebroin did not approve of the Austrasian and Burgundian ideas of government. He, like Brunehaut, was for a return to the Roman plan. He wished the lords to live in peace under royal authority, but he wished there to be a real royal authority. He was much opposed to letting the lords run the kingdom as they saw fit. He had extraordinary energy and courage.

Ebroin paid no attention to the rules of the perpetual

constitution. He required lords and bishops alike to return to the royal house the rights and property they had wrested away. Of course there was a revolt. Its leader was St Leger, Bishop of Autun. Ebroin had named a new king, the legal heir to be sure, but he had failed to call an assembly on this occasion as stipulated in the constitution. The lords and bishops decided not to stand that, and started a rebellion. Ebroin led his troops against the rebels, but his troops would not fight. In fact they joined the rebels. Then a puzzling thing happened. Ebroin was shut up in the monastery at Luxeuil. Why he was not instantly killed is the puzzle. Possibly the times had improved a little, but not that much. There must have been some other reason.

A new king, whose name does not matter, was installed with the understanding that he would do just as he was told. He was placed under the guardianship of St Leger. But this new king turned out to be much livelier than most of them. He soon grew weary of seeing St Leger around and managed to get the saint locked up in the monastery at Luxeuil with Ebroin. The king then proceeded to make very merry, and one day in a frolic in the forest of Bondy just outside of Paris he was stabbed by one of his playmates. Another version has it that he and the queen and their child were assassinated in the forest of Chelles. In any case, this king appears to have met a violent end.

CHAPTER EIGHT

EBROIN CONTINUES. PÉPIN D'HÉRISTAL. CHARLES MARTEL. DEFEAT OF THE SARACENS. PÉPIN THE SHORT.

Ebroin, an obscure genius, rises to the top of the turmoil and Pépin d'Héristal runs to the Rhine. Somebody fells Ebroin and the rough Austrasians defeat the semi-civilized Neustrians. A storm from the deserts of Arabia sweeps into France. The Franks defeat the Saracens, thereby saving Christendom. A new dynasty begins.

The death of that frivolous, figure-head king whose name does not matter put all the fat in the fire again. Everything was terribly mixed up. Nobody knew who was in authority, and nobody was. Ebroin and St Leger walked out of prison together, apparently the best of friends. But that could not last long. Ebroin proved the difficulty that there is in keeping a good man down. He was the strongest man on the scene, and he soon was in control of affairs in Paris.

He began again on his reforms exactly where he had left off. So the lords promptly took up arms against him again. This time Ebroin besieged Autun where St Leger was, and this time his army stood by him. Perhaps he had taken the precaution to promise some real booty. Autun was badly provisioned. St Leger nobly walked out from behind the walls and surrendered himself, hoping that would end the siege. But Ebroin was not a man of half-measures; he promptly executed St Leger. Autun was taken, and the leaders of the revolt who could fled into Austrasia.

In Austrasia the family d'Héristal were then the

leaders of the lords. This great family had immense possessions in the valleys of the Meuse and the Rhine. They belonged to the Riparian Franks, who were now to rise and take the leadership from the weakened Salians. One of the d'Héristal family had become mayor of the palace at Metz in 622, and this office had become practically hereditary in that family. By 678 the nominal Merovingian royalty quite disappeared in Austrasia. Even puppet kings were no more. There was a sort of confederation of nobles that had for chiefs Pépin d'Héristal and a cousin of his named Martin. In 680, under these two leaders, the Austrasians marched against Ebroin. Ebroin outgeneraled them. They were completely defeated. Pépin fled all the way to the banks of the Rhine, while Martin shut himself up in the strong city of Laon. He would better have gone right on to the Rhine with his brother; he foolishly came out for a conference with Ebroin and that was the end of Martin.

Ebroin made the weaker Neustria temporarily victorious over the stronger Austrasia, but his genius was not appreciated. Some disgruntled Neustrian noble waited for him one Sunday morning with a hatchet, and, unfortunately for Neustria, Ebroin was felled. Thus perished in 681 the last defender of Merovingian royalty.

The death of Ebroin caused a truce. Pépin, still cowering on the banks of the Rhine, could not believe his ears when he heard of Ebroin's death. He still considered himself defeated, and was only too glad to agree to peace. Six years later, when he had recovered from his Ebroin complex, he went to take Neustria and took it easily. The decisive battle of this campaign was fought at Testry, a village near Péronne in the Somme, Péronne where much later Louis XI was to have a famous encounter with Charles the Bold of Burgundy. The battle of Testry has

been called the culminating victory of the lords over Merovingian royal authority, of the Riparian Franks over the Salian Franks, of Teutonic Gaul over Roman Gaul. It occurred in the year 687.

Having defeated the Neustrians, Pépin decided to leave their phantom king alone, at least for the time being. He was content with having all governmental and military authority in his hands without calling himself king. That was prudent, for his fellow Austrasian lords would have been quick to resent the taking of the kingship by one whom they regarded their equal. Pépin's grandfather had made a move in that direction with reference to the kingship of Austrasia, and his ambition had been promptly suppressed.

Until his death in 714 Pépin d'Héristal was very busy with minor wars, particularly on the German side of the kingdom where much disorder occurred while the civil wars were in progress. In these he was successful, but all his success was less than that of his illustrious son, Charles, known in history as Charles Martel, Charles the Hammer.

After the death of Pépin, the Neustrians attacked Austrasia on the west, while the Frisians and Saxons attacked on the east. Charles was compelled to withdraw with his army into inaccessible parts of the Ardennes forest from whose woody heights he saw his confident enemies encamped in the plain below. Not in the least discouraged, he chose a favorable time for a surprise attack upon a detached part of the Neustrian forces. This attack was such a success that the others withdrew. Three years later Charles won a final victory over the Neustrians at Soissons.

Later, a great danger arose in the southwest. The Saracens were at the height of the success of that marvellous holy war in which, in the name of the new religion of Mahomet, they overran all of northern Africa, crossed into Spain and destroyed there the

kingdom of the Visigoths. Now they appeared north of the Pyrenees. Already they had defeated the forces of the duke of Aquitaine in a battle near the confluence of the Dordogne and the Garonne. The whole of Christendom was threatened. Nothing had been able to stand in the path of this amazing human storm that had risen without warning from the deserts of Arabia and threatened to sweep over the whole western world. The Aquitanians begged the now powerful chief of the Austrasians to come to their rescue. It was a solemn moment. If Charles was defeated, no force was left strong enough to withstand the invaders. The whole course of history, and certainly the fate of Christianity, were at stake.

Charles was not a good Christian. He robbed many churches and monasteries in order to pay his soldiers. He had to build up an army somehow. As it turned out, the churches and monasteries might well be thankful that he robbed them if that was what he had to do to strengthen his army. He led that army against the Saracens, and met them south of Poitiers. Forces of the Teutonic and of the Arabic invaders, invaders who had divided the old Roman world between them, were at last face to face. Not since the army of Aetius had confronted the hordes of Attila had any so momentous issue been at stake.

For days, we are told, the two armies rested face to face, neither wishing to begin the struggle. The scene was the valley of the Vézère, one of the most beautiful parts of France, made famous by the homes there of prehistoric men[1]. At last the swift Saracen cavalry

1. The exact location of this important battle remains in doubt. It has been called the battle of Tours, with the qualification that "it probably occurred nearer Poitiers". There is evidence that bands of Arab cavalry rode as far north as Autun and Sens, but recent discoveries in the valley of the Vézère go far toward indicating that it was there the main forces met.

charged, the charge that heretofore had carried all before it. But that day it did not carry all before it. The Franks had a strong line. It neither bent nor broke. It was the charge of the Saracens that broke against the stone-wall defense of the Franks. There among the pleasant hills that rise above the ancient

Arab cavalry hurled itself in vain against the Franks of Charles Martel.

Vézère, the great Arabic invasion at last reached its outermost limit. The storm was over. Thrown back into Spain, the Saracens never returned again in force to attack in France.

It was this battle south of Poitiers, this great victory over the whirlwind of the Saracens, that gained for Charles his name of Martel, the hammer. Having defeated the Arabs, Charles kept right on. The hammer kept pounding. The Aquitanians having cheerfully

submitted to his authority, he proceeded to win Burgundy. It was then that the Franks, in their turn, traversed the historic southern highway to reach Narbonne, passing by Carcassonne. Charles took Arles, Avignon, and Marseille, but there were Arab forces at certain other points that he could not dislodge; they resisted him successfully behind the walls of Narbonne and of the Roman arena at Nîmes. It was in 732

Charles Martel allowed his soldiers to pillage and burn at Nimes. Marks of that burning may still be seen on the walls of the arena there.

that he won that great victory south of Poitiers. Eight years later, when about to start to Italy to aid the pope in a struggle against the Lombards, he died.

Charles Martel left two sons. They were Carloman and Pépin *le Bref,* the Short. Carloman grew weary of his kingship and retired into a monastery in Italy. It was not so with Pépin the Short. He inherited the great physical strength and much of the ability of his father. Small of stature and taunted for that, he once proved his prowess by winning a wrestling match with a bull. On another occasion he leaped into an arena and attacked a bull and a lion that were already attacking each other. It is reported that his stroke score for bull's head and lion's head was just one for

each, and that he then cried out, « How's that for a king! ».

The pope was in trouble with the Lombards, Teutonic

Pépin attacked a bull and a lion that had already attacked each other.

invaders of Italy. He sent word that if Pépin would help him he would undertake to consecrate him as

Pepin receives the envoys sent to him by the pope to ask for his help against the Lombards.

official king of the Franks, declaring that it was better for one who had the authority of king actually to be one. It needed only this support of the Church for

Pépin to become king without effective resistance from anyone. By that time the Merovingian kings had become something between a memory and a myth. So the pope willed it, and the last of those phantom, puppet kings, Childeric III, was shut up in a monastery where he died three years later. In 752 Pépin the Short was consecrated by St Boniface at Soissons as Christian king of the Franks, the first of a new dynasty. But the name by which that new dynasty is known in history was yet to appear. That dynasty is famous, not for its founder, but for the great life and work of the illustrious son of its founder who is known to all the world as Carolus Magnus, Charlemagne.

CHAPTER NINE

SOCIETY IN THE MEROVINGIAN PERIOD

This chapter tells something about how people lived in those days. Roving warriors became landed lords and began to call themselves counts and dukes. Barbaric banquets were modified by Roman luxury. A Roman guest held his nose and wrote home about it. Fine Gallo-Roman cities lost their beautiful buildings.

The consecration of Pépin the Short at Soissons by St Boniface occurred two hundred and sixty-six years after the baptism of Clovis at Reims. During that period rather profound changes occurred which have been implied rather than described in our account of events. Before going on to Charlemagne, let us look back over the Merovingian period as a whole.

That period witnessed important changes in the status both of the governing classes and of the governed. The chief of a band of roving warriors became transformed into a king of more than eight million subjects. He became the « anointed of the Lord », designated by the all-powerful Church to reign by virtue of the power of God. Whatever his old comrades-in-arms may have thought of this transformation, his Gallo-Roman subjects saw in him, as king, the heir of all the emperors. They were willing and eager to yield to him obedience and devotion. From the first the king of France meant more to the common people than he did to those who were closer to him ; he could nearly always count on the people for support more than on the peers.

Even more significant for the common life was the

evolution of roving Teutonic warriors into lords of the land. In the old days, in the sterile and swampy country beyond the Rhine, land had counted for little with the warriors. After a conquest, interest settled rather in the movable booty. It was that which was divided up by lot. No one wanted to stay in the same place. The warriors wanted to be always on the move, taking chances on what they got to eat as they went along. The very thought of waiting for crops to ripen bored them. Between fights they might hunt and fish, but certainly they were not farmers. Their diet, from a modern view point, must have been extremely irregular. They got no spinach ; all their vitamines were meat. They proved, however, that it is possible to live that way and still be strong.

However, once these nomadic warriors began to live in France, their views began to change. Somehow France always has had effects on peoples' views. Here the land was fair and fertile enough to suggest to the invaders that they might go farther and do worse. The idea occurred that it might be well to parcel out the real estate as well as the movable booty. Those eight million docile Gallo-Romans may have had something to do with this; they could help with the plowing. Also there were a good many attractive Gallo-Roman country villas that were still in a tolerable state of repair. So the roving warriors became land owners, and then had to stay on their land much of the time in order to keep on owning it.

Along with this settling down, the fraternity that arises from marching together against common enemies began to disappear. Old comrades-in-arms became rival landlords. There must have been some fine fights about boundary lines. Theoretically, the Teutonic warriors enjoyed equal rights among themselves, but, in the nature of human nature, it was inevitable that little groups formed about leaders. They

formed much as gangs of boys form. There seems to be a universal human instinct either to be a leader or to look for one. Little gangs that grouped around leaders existed when the Franks first came out of the German forests. It was clearly understood, however, that any member was free to leave and join another group when he wanted to do so. With the parceling out of the land this freedom to leave became diminished. The Teutons, being socially inclined, were sure to settle in groups rather than each warrior going off with his family alone to create a solitary homestead. Besides, it would not have been safe to be solitary. Undoubtedly the group leaders administered the minor subdividing of the land, this new kind of booty that could not be carried away by any disgruntled member. Thus the leader was sure to become more of a leader than ever; the property interests of the group required that to be so. In this manner there came to be lords of the land and lesser lords. You even begin to hear of counts and of dukes. The stage was getting set for the Feudal Ages.

Another factor in the setting of this stage was the necessity that arose for the king to appoint deputies to administer for him in the various parts of his greatly increased and rapidly growing kingdom. The Franks preserved the old Roman divisions into provinces and cities. They even allowed the cities to preserve their municipal magistrates, but a Teutonic count, named by the king, was sent to see that the taxes were properly collected, and otherwise to represent the central power. Similarly, in the frontier provinces, dukes were the representatives of the king. Since the dukes were farther away from the king than the counts, their authority was naturally less restricted. So loose were the reins of government, however, that both counts and dukes had ample opportunity to abuse their power. It appears from accounts

that they generally did abuse it; the accounters, however, even as happens to-day, undoubtedly gave more space to evil deeds than to good ones.

Clovis did not abandon the old Teutonic custom of general assemblies of the warriors, called *champs de mars,* that were held in the spring. At these assemblies questions of general interest were decided, particularly questions of peace or war. The king undertook no new war without the approval of the *champs de mars.*

As to the administration of justice, it is interesting to find that there were juries of twelve to cooperate with the courts in making decisions. The laws were considerably confused, the principle being that a man had the right to be judged by the law of his own people no matter where he found himself. Thus Roman law, Burgundian law, Visigothic law, Riparian law, or Salic law would be applicable as the case might be. The only thing that saved the legal situation from complete confusion was the absence of lawyers. Judges and juries decided as they saw fit.

Under Teutonic law the accused had to prove innocence rather than the accuser guilt. He would bring to the trial all the people he could who would swear to his innocence. Often the truth became much obscured by the confusion of witnesses, and perplexed judges frequently had recourse to what was called the judgment of God. There were various forms which this judgment might take. One was to have accused and accuser stand together before an altar with arms outstretched while a long mass was said. The first to lower his arms lost the case; God had not sustained his strength. Another consisted in providing accused and accuser with equal weapons and then letting them go to it. This manner of judgment had a certain popularity with the audiences, but less with the principals. Family feuds were given legal status. If a family lost a mem-

ber in a feud, the other family had to pay for him, the amount assessed following a fixed tariff based upon the social status of the deceased.

The Salic laws, those of the Salian Franks, are particularly famous because of the one that forbade the inheritance of land by a woman, and that because this law was cited much later to nullify the claim of a king of England, through his mother, to the throne of

A judicial duel in Merovingian days. « The judgment of God. »

France. England's effort to fulfil this claim resulted in the Hundred Years' war.

The Salic Law, according to Sir Samuel Dill, gives « a truthful picture of the mingled Frank and Roman society in Belgic Gaul in the Fifth Century. And in this picture the first thing that strikes us is that it was a thoroughly rural society; towns are hardly mentioned. It was organized and civilized in a fashion that much resembles a remote countryside in England in the days of our grandfathers... There were meadows and forest pastures, with herds of oxen, sheep, swine, and horses tended by their keepers. It is not hard to revive in imagination many pleasant scenes of rural life. One

may call up pictures of comfortable granges along the rivers... In all these peaceful scenes there are few signs of war or warlike preparations. »

At the time of the invasions, the Gallo-Romans were, theoretically, possessed of equal rights. All were citizens of Rome. However, they were not great sticklers for their rights; they were a submissive group. Four hundred years of submission to Rome made that inevitable. Now, having submitted to Teutonic conquerors, they became a subordinate class. Two classes, conquerors and conquered, came into stable existence. Herein lies the beginning of that definite distinction between the nobility and the commoners that was the chief characteristic of society throughout the Middle Ages and later. The docility of the common people, developed in Gaul under Roman rule, is traceable right down to the Great Revolution.

Certain Gallo-Romans escaped the general submergence of their fellows. Some of them were even clever enough to enter into the Frankish aristocracy. Some of them, through their talents, made themselves useful to the king and were his intimates. They were known as the *convives du roi,* and held high place in the kingdom. Certainly they were better qualified through education to serve the king in many ways than were the rough and outspoken Franks. You will remember that it was a Gallo-Roman, Aurelian, who was sent to negotiate that delicate business of the betrothal of Clotilde to Clovis.

The wealthy Gallo-Romans who made the effort to get on good terms with their conquerors left the cities as a first step in that direction. They went to live in the country as neighbors of the barbaric aristocracy whose favor they sought. They adopted, or at least imitated, the manner of life of the barbarians, joining with them in riotous merriment. The conquerors were intoxicated with power and with luxuries they

had never known. A young Roman wrote letters home about his travels in Gaul at that time. Among other things he wrote, « I am among very hairy people, obliged to listen to the German language, and to applaud, with forced smiles, the songs of drunken barbarians whose hair is greasy with rancid butter. Fortunate your eyes and your ears that have neither to see them nor to hear them! Fortunate especially your nose that does not have to smell ten times every morn-

A barbarian banquet in a Gallo-Roman villa.

ing the pestilential odors of garlic and onions that they emanate. » Another writer was impressed by the great quantities of roast meat and of fermented drinks consumed at joint Frankish and Gallo-Roman feasts, but he also remarked that the walls of the banqueting halls were garlanded with flowers, and the tables covered with rose petals.

The exodus toward rural bacchanalia on the part of the leisure classes left the towns largely to tradespeople, artisans, and laborers. So, in the Sixth Century, there was great deterioration of the once beautiful Gallo-Roman cities. The poor people who lived there

were entirely unable to reconstruct the public buildings, many of which, as at Sens, were torn down at the approach of the invaders, materials they yielded being used to strengthen the city walls. The debris of fine buildings now found its way into the little homes of poor people. Houses were built up every which way, just as happened to be convenient with the material at hand. Beautiful marble columns and capitals often formed parts of hovels. Ground floors had literally ground floors which were separated from the street by a thick stone wall with as few and as narrow openings in it as possible. The upper stories were of wood. At Tours, at least, there were houses four stories high.

The life of the common people out in the country was even more limited as to comfort. The usual residence was a thatched hut of clay, commonly without even a chimney. The slaves, at the time of Roman prosperity, were better lodged than the serfs of the Merovingians. But those rural Gallo-Romans who had managed in some miraculous manner to preserve their wealth, and to get on good terms with the Franks, lived in considerable style. The ruins of Gallo-Roman villas of this epoch prove that domestic luxury learned from Rome appeared again after the invasions. Hot baths, beautiful galleries, luxurious dining apartments, and abundant mural decorations were features of these villas. There barbarian guests and neighbors must have found huge delight in being entertained in Roman style.

The homes of the Frankish chiefs were quite otherwise, and suited to their taste. They were like extensive groups of farm buildings surrounded by a stockade and a moat. They had features in common with the early settlements in America that were stockaded against the Indians. As in the American settlements, so in these settlements of the Franks,

there had to be economic independence. There were workshops for weaving and dyeing, for sandal-making and for metal-working. The armorer had his forge, which suggests the detail that, though nearly everyone went horseback, stirrups had not been invented. Perhaps they would have been too dear anyhow. As it was, a horse's bit cost more than the horse. Metal came from Spain and England with great difficulty and in very limited quantities.

There were bold traders who went far abroad to find profitable markets, travelling in caravans. This risky business seemed to appeal to the adventurous Franks. Stories are told of their trafficking to the east as far as Constantinople with barbarians still wilder than they. This must have been, however, some time after the terror about Attila had subsided. These traders exchanged wine and cloth for rich booty looted from eastern cities. In the time of Dagobert, one of these wandering Frankish merchants aided a tribe of Bohemians in repelling an invasion on their land, and became their king. Subsequently he repelled other attacks made by the forces of his own sovereign.

Another distinct group took an important part in Merovingian society, the Jews. The Jews, in the chaos that followed the invasions, improved their status. Schooled through the ages in adversity, they knew how to bow their heads and weather the storm. In Gaul they appear to have done some pioneer carpet-bagging. Their place in society was, to a considerable extent, determined for them. They were barred from industry, from agriculture, even from the military life, by religious prejudice against them. In the trade of money-lending, however, they had a distinct advantage. The Church forbade its members to lend money at interest. So the Jews had rather a monopoly on the banking business when banking was in its infancy. The mere fact that they were suc-

cessful at it, and could collect loans in the face of all the prejudice against them, goes far to indicate that the times were not as disorderly as one might easily believe from some accounts.

« The role of the Jew in Merovingian society was already very important, and continued to increase in importance in the following centuries. Throughout the Middle Ages he was the universal banker to whom all had to go when they needed money, the Church itself as well as the kings ». (Coutant.)

CHAPTER TEN

THE CHURCH IN MEROVINGIAN TIMES. THE BENEDICTINES.

The Church was of great importance in the history of France. It was a going concern long before the barbarians crossed the Rhine, and it never stopped going. Churches and abbeys became the only safe spots and even they were not very safe. Great work was done by the Benedictine monks. Their job was like that of our own pioneers, but it was done with more prayer and probably less profanity.

We have considered chiefly the Gallo-Roman and the Teutonic elements in this France of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries. There remains to be considered a third element. That third element was quite as important, so far as influence upon society is concerned, as either of the others. It was the Church of Rome.

The Church was now entering upon an amazing period of development, a period filled with adventure and devotion, with drama and romance, a period that determined its dominance in world affairs of the Middle Ages, and forecast its status in the world today.

We have seen the way in which the Franks were won over to the Church by St Remi. Work like that of St Remi was going on elsewhere with similar materials, though not always with similar results. The growth in power of the Church was no simple development, no inevitable result. It was marked by heroic devotion to the task and by the blood of martyrs.

France is rich in churches, so rich that they seem rather out of proportion to the present strength of her religious life as expressed through the Church. They

speak of a greatness that is more of the past than of the present. Yet these visible evidences of that greatness brings it alive to the mind. As no other monuments can do, the churches vivify that long past in which they played so great a part.

The churches, regarded architecturally alone, do not tell you all of their story however meticulous your regard may be. Viewed thus they give an enduring impression of what is often very beautiful along with what is often grotesque. They reveal clearly the greatness of the art and of the devotion that went into their building, but they have even more than that to tell. Close indeed were the churches to the lives of those who labored to build them, and of all who worshipped under their roofs. Very intimate and significant was the institution of which they are the outer symbols in shaping the life of the people, in determining its welfare and its griefs.

So, to understand them fully, you need to look upon the churches of France with adequate appreciation of what they have meant to their congregations. Many of them are mutilated. What of that? The evolution of the people is indicated in these mutilations. They are scars that mean something. There was history in the fall of every statue from its niche. The churches of France are but the more eloquent for their mutilations. Those of Italy have the advantage of being intact, but Italy has not yet had a Great Revolution.

Any adequate view of the Church of Rome must be a view from Rome itself. With the fall of the Western Empire, titular control of Rome passed for a time to Constantinople. Then new invaders of Italy, the Lombards, separated her from the east. This separation in the year 569 gave opportunity for the western Church to develop complete independence. But at that time, in spite of the conversion of the Franks and of other

barbarians, the power of the Church was at low ebb. Efforts to establish it in England and in Germany had been unsuccessful. The Lombards, who dominated Italy, as well as the Visigoths and the Burgundians, had been won by that rival sect, the Arians. Ireland had been converted much earlier by St-Patrick, but his missionaries came from the eastern Church. They did not recognize the supremacy of the pope at Rome.

In addition to these outer weaknesses, there were inner ones. The personnel was not what it needed to be. What with general disorder and decadence going on everywhere, it is small wonder that some of it penetrated the Church. The conversion of barbarians had bad effects as well as good ones. These new converts liked the Church so well that they sought to be bishops as well as members. Some of those new barbarian bishops must have caused great distress to the pope.

We can see how this happened in France. There the title « defender of the city » had been vested by the Romans in the resident bishop in each of the important cities. Military control and protection having proved inadequate, the only hope of the people lay in their religious leaders. Many of those bishop « defenders » proved very worthy of the charge laid upon them. It was the Church that negotiated with Alaric, King of the Visigoths, and with Attila. Nobody else had the courage to stand up to those great barbarians. Thus the Church found occupation with temporal affairs really forced upon her. Her entrance into world politics was entirely to her credit.

Clovis, having joined the Church, saw the desirability of maintaining the bishops as defenders of the cities, as chief municipal magistrates. With his backing they made effective counterpoise to the counts who were his more direct, but often his more unreliable representatives.

Theoretically, bishops were elected by the clergy and the people. Clovis and his successors saw to it that some of their own men were elected; they were willing to have the bishops as check on the counts, but they wanted some of their own men to be bishops to check on the other bishops.

Apart from certain illustrious exceptions, deterioration appeared wherever the Church thus became much concerned with worldly affairs. Simony, which means

Saint Martin, when a Roman soldier divided his coat with a beggar.

unlawful selling of Church favors. was a common sin. The salvation of the Church was to come from within herself, from those of her members who had deliberately detached themselves from temporal affairs.

The monastic life came from the east. There the monks completely isolated themselves to spend their days in prayer and contemplation. It is not too difficult to appreciate the monastic point of view if you accept sincerity of the belief that the only importance of this life is as preparation for the life to come, and that the greatest joys of present life should consist in contemplation of and preparation for the celestial joys that lie beyond.

The western orders, while preserving in varying degrees the tenets of isolation and contemplation, also introduced certain activities that had profound effects. Thus with the monks of St Martin. St Martin of Tours is the favorite saint of France. He was a converted Roman soldier of the days before Attila and Clovis. One cold day, while still a soldier, he divided his coat with a beggar, cutting it in two with his sword. That generous act is a favorite subject in stained-glass win-

Saint Martin ordered the destruction of pagan temples.

dows. When Martin became a bishop he used to send out bands of monks to destroy the monuments of the druids, those semi-mythical heathen priests of the Gauls, and to deface the temples of the Roman divinities. Other monks in France, even before the Teutonic invasions, worked at forest clearing and at agriculture.

Now there was to arise a new order, an order whose record for devotion is unsurpassed and whose labor for social welfare was incomparable. That was the order of the Benedictines. It was founded by St Benoit of Nursie, an Italian nobleman born in 480. St Benoit considered idleness an enemy of the soul. One of

the rules of the new order drawn up by him was that each monk should do manual work for six or seven hours each day. This « Benedictine rule » became universal in the convents of the west.

Taine writes as follows of the work of the Benedictines : « In abandoned lands whose inhabitants had fled before Roman tax-gatherers, brigands, or invading barbarians, the Benedictine monk built his hut of branches among the thickets. Around him stretched that most desolate of all areas, land once cultivated, now for many years abandoned. There he and his companions cleared ground and built. He domesticated again the half-wild animals, established a farm, a mill, a forge, an oven, workshops for sandals and clothing. He gathered together miserable people whom he nourished and for whom he found occupations. Beggars, vagabonds, peasants, and fugitives came to his sanctuary and he turned none away. Gradually the camp became a village and the village a town. Thus were formed new centers of agriculture and of industry that became in turn new centers of population. »

The growth and the multiplication of the monasteries was one of the most striking features of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries, Life outside the abbey walls was so uncertain, so perilous, it is small wonder that thousands welcomed the protection that monastic life afforded. Considerable dependent populations settled outside the abbey walls. These were composed of free tenants who paid for their use of abbey land, and of voluntary serfs who, for security, surrendered their lives and goods to the discretion of ecclesiastical masters.

In France, where bishops had become the most influential counsellors of the king, not all were of the ascetic type. Some were much occupied with business and affairs of state. Certain abbeys became particularly enriched through legacies made by timorous

lords on the verge of the great unknown. St-Germain-des-Prés at Paris and St-Martin-de-Tours possessed domains larger than some of the present departments of France.

Some of the monasteries originally established in the wilderness came also to great importance. That was the case with Luxeuil. You will recall it was there that Ebroin and, following him, St Leger once went as enforced guests. Luxeuil was in the fastnesses of the Vosges mountains, where now there is a fashionable summer resort. It was founded in 590 by St Colomban, a monk from Ireland, who came there following perilous pathways far from his fatherland, he and twelve devoted disciples. Luxeuil and Marmoutier, which was on the Loire near Tours, were to become great centers of learning in the western world, « nurseries » they were called of the new order of bishops that was to redeem and greatly to strengthen the Church.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

POPE GREGORY THE GREAT. GREGORY OF TOURS. CHURCH BUILDINGS.

This chapter tells of two of the great men of the early Church. What they accomplished under the conditions of their days is truly marvellous. The churches were community club houses then. They gave dances in them and sometimes stored the crops there. What is a basilica? Here is the answer.

The monastic orders, as we have seen, were responsible for the redemption of great areas of land and for the establishment there of important islands of human industry and security. Equally important was their contribution to improvement in the ecclesiastical personnel. From certain monasteries whose merit was recognized by a certain pope many new bishops were appointed. Thus these monasteries spread their influence far beyond the abbey walls. This reform in the personnel of the Church was a reflection of a reform in the person of the pope. Very fortunately for the Church, there appeared at this critical time the first of the great popes, himself a Benedictine.

Gregory I, the Great, came from a rich and noble family of Rome. He was destined for a political career. At thirty he was a praetor of Rome, a luxury-loving patrician. Suddenly seized by a passion for religion, he resigned all his offices, gave his fortune to charity, and became a Benedictine. He founded a monastery at Rome. There, through devotion and wisdom, he made himself beloved by all the brethren of the order. In the year 590 he was unanimously elected pope and compelled to take that high office against his own resistance.

Rome was in most deplorable condition when Gregory became pope. The Lombards were masters of Italy and had ravaged the land. Gregory had to become temporal as well as spiritual chief; there was no one else for the job. He made a truce with the Lombards that left to the power of the papacy territory that he had reorganized. This foundation of the temporal power of the pope was an achievement that circumstances compelled.

There were bishops at that time in Italy who were rivals of the pope and declined to accept pontifical authority. Constantinople was the residence of the hereditary emperor of Rome, and the patriarch there effectively disputed through that shadowy claim the right of the pope at Rome to rule. Gregory successfully surmounted these enormous difficulties. He appears to have had genius in handling men.

His power once established, Gregory used it for the regeneration of the Church at large. There was much regeneration needed. He recruited his legates and his bishops from among the monks. A newly appointed archbishop of Arles was charged with the reformation of the clergy of Gaul. Many bishops of barbaric origin were replaced to advantage by Benedictines. Other Benedictines, sent by Gregory, went as emissaries among the Lombards in Italy and among the Visigoths in Spain. Both the Lombards and the Visigoths were persuaded to renounce their Arianism.

It was one of the ambitions of this pope to convert the Anglo-Saxons. He had seen in his youth a band of fair-haired slaves in the market in Rome. He asked about their origin.

« They are Angles », he was told.

« Angles! » he replied, « better might you say angels, for they have celestial beauty. They must become companions of the angels in heaven. »

He would himself go as missionary to England, but

was not allowed to do so. When he became pope he sent the monk Augustine there at the head of a band of forty others. They landed on the shores of Kent in 597. Within a year they succeeded in baptizing King Ethelbert and several thousand of his warriors. England accepted the new religion with enthusiasm and became one of the citadels of the faith. Missionaries went out from there to found convents in the forests of Germany.

Gregory the Great died in 604. He established for the papacy in his fourteen years of office far greater authority than it had ever had before. He performed for the Church a real miracle of reorganization and of extended dominion.

Nearly contemporary with Gregory the Great, there was another Gregory who may not be omitted from any account of early France. He was Gregory of Tours. To him we are indebted for much of all we know of France in Merovingian times. He was the bishop of Tours from 573 to 595. Besides being the historian of his times, he had devotion and courage and skill in the management of men, barbarians as well as others. He was the counsellor of Sigebert and of Gontran, of Childebert and of Chilperic.

Gregory's management of that headstrong brute Chilperic commands especial admiration. Remember that Chilperic was the husband of Frédégonde, whose terrific figure always loomed in the background of any dealings with that Neustrian king. Gregory boldly defended the bishop of Rouen, Pretextatus, who had interfered with certain cases of the bloody vengeance of Frédégonde. For his bold defense of Pretextatus, Chilperic threatened to incite the people of Tours to destroy Gregory. The bishop responded that it was a small matter if the people attacked him, for the punishment for that attack would surely fall upon the king

himself. He compelled Chilperic to back down, then as on several other occasions. Frédégonde, however, never backed down for anyone. She succeeded in having Pretextatus stabbed as he knelt before an altar, and then went to gloat over him as he lay in agony on his death bed.

Gregory of Tours was a true father and protector of his people, one of those « defenders of the city » very worthy of the title, always ready and willing to raise the Cross and to risk his own body in the protection of the right. His writings are justly considered « as valuable for the history of early France as the writings of Herodotus for the history of Greece ».

In writing his history of the Franks, Gregory was performing a recognized function of the Church. The Church in his day and for many days thereafter was the only guardian of literary culture in the western world, the only seat of intellectual life. This was in addition to its role as the only surviving representative of justice and charity in human relations. In the convents, and there only, the lamp of intellectual life was kept dimly burning. There were schools there, inner schools for the instruction of the brothers of the order, and outer schools in which religion, reading, singing, and grammar were taught.

The fine arts were another care of the orders. The illumination of missals, the elaborate copying in colors of manuscripts, was a favorite occupation of the quiet monks. Mural painting was done by them, and ecclesiastical architects designed the early churches.

The records are not entirely precise on this point, but there is adequate reason to believe that the monks, even in those days of asceticism, applied considerable intelligence to the arts of eating and drinking. There were feast days as well as fast days. In their gardens they made experiments in agriculture and flori-

culture, with rather particular attention to viticulture. They undoubtedly improved domestic animals, the arts of the kitchen, and the methods and materials of the vintner.

The most interesting feature of the churches of that time is that they were community centers, really community centers, in the full meaning of that expression. They were « theatres in which the activities of the people were manifested in all forms », democratic centers in which people were held together by the cement of common interests and love of intercourse. The market place was at the church doors, or even overflowed within them. In the churches were kept the archives of the city and records of sale. Hay and grain were sometimes stored in them. The sick were brought there to be cured. It was all very informal and intimate. Trials were held there and the judgments of God settled in the church yard, or on the *parvis*, that paved court that lay before the church doors. Here came fugitives for asylum, and here came the king himself when he had need to harangue the people of a town. Fêtes were celebrated in the churches and there was no ban on dancing. Become the center of social and political as well as of religious life, the church had replaced the forum of Roman days.

In architectural form the early churches were basilicas. Basilicas existed before churches. that being the name given by the Romans to covered forums which were used for public assemblies, for courts of justice, and even for markets. The Church appears to have taken over basilicas or copied them as places of worship, and to have continued therein their secular uses. The early bishops sensed the value of keeping the Church on intimate terms with the people. Perhaps it would be even more accurate to say that Christian worship was merely, in some cases, a feature added to the varied activities that were already housed in

the basilica, which was surely one of the most hospitable buildings of all time. Christ drove the money-changers out of the temple, but in Merovingian times the money-changers appear to have had the right of priority there. Perhaps it was desirable for the Church to have an eye on them.

The oblong form of the basilica was divided lengthwise by two rows of interior columns into one great

• The copying of manuscripts was a favorite occupation of the quiet monks. •

nave and two narrower lateral ones. The columns were derived, where possible, from earlier Roman buildings. Before the entrance there was a walled-in court where several fonts of holy water stood. Also there were porches for those who did not have the right to be admitted directly to the religious exercises. Here heathen, heretics, and Jews could come, to the end that they might be converted. The outer court also served as a burying ground.

Within the church, men worshippers took their place in the right-hand nave, and women in the left, or in galleries of the side naves. The central nave was reserved for the clergy. The bishop's chair, the cathedra, was raised above the general level and faced

the altar from the bay at the head of the central nave. The altar, covered by a canopy, was between the bishop's bay and the rest of the church. Thus the church copied the plan of a court of justice, the bishop taking the place of the judge, and the choir around the altar replacing the lawyers and clerks. This primitive plan was clearly followed and elaborated in all subsequent developments of churches and cathedrals.

The churches were oriented; that is, the main entrance faced west so that the priest in performing the offices of worship before the altar faced east, toward the Holy Land. This orientation was followed in the cathedrals.

In design the early churches followed slavishly the degenerate Roman style. Unskilled in masonry, the builders used brick more than stone, and much wood. Fires were frequent. Very few Merovingian churches remain in France.

The facades were ornamented by gilt mosaics, or by figures of evangelists, apostles, and martyrs. Inside there were mural decorations, mosaics in barbaric designs, brilliant colors.

We may not be able to reconstruct with accuracy the human scene of which these early churches were the center. There is rather free scope here for the imagination and much to stir it, for we do know that the churches were vital centers of the life of the times, catching and reflecting all of it. Clubs and courts and market places they were as well as houses of worship. There is a lonely little Merovingian church at Cravant, a crypt at Jouarre near the Château-Thierry road, a baptistry at Poitiers. Their heavy walls and strange mosaics are eloquent of those distant days when they were so much frequented.

CHAPTER TWELVE

A SLIGHT REVIEW. PEPIN, THE POPE, AND THE LOMBARDS. CHARLEMAGNE BEGINS.

A pope comes from Rome and kneels before the king of the Franks. They strike a bargain. Pépin makes a winter march to Italy to save the pope from the Lombards. On his way home, he sweeps Saracens back of the Pyrenees, but strikes a snag in Aquitaine Enters his great son, Charlemagne.

Now we may return to the sequence of kings from which we departed at the end of Chapter Eight. At that point Pépin the Short, grandson of Pépin d'Héristal, leader of the lords of Austrasia, had been consecrated by St-Boniface as king of the Franks. The last of the Merovingians, a powerless phantom of a king, had been shut up in a monastery; that was in 752. The pope at that time was Zacharias. He authorized the consecration of Pépin and the final suppression of the last of the Merovingians. He accompanied this authorization with a plea for help against the Lombards who were overrunning Italy. Zacharias died soon after that.

A slight review may be convenient at this point. In Chapter Three, in 58 B. C., we had Julius Caesar entering Gaul and conquering it. We merely mentioned in that chapter the fact that Rome governed Gaul for more than four hundred years after Caesar's conquest, but we referred again in later chapters to the important effects of Roman government. We considered the Teutonic invasions that began about 375 and the defeat of Attila near Châlons in 451.

Chapters Four and Five were mostly about Clovis, his marriage to Clotilde, his baptism by St-Remi in 496, and his successes thereafter in extending the power and dominion of the Salian Franks.

In Chapter Six the division of the kingdom of Clovis among his sons was described, and also their successful wars on the Burgundians and the Visigoths. Then came a redivision of the kingdom among the grandsons of Clovis, two of whom were Chilperic and Sigebert. Chilperic, perhaps the chief villain of Merovingian days, had Neustria for his kingdom and Frédégonde for his wife. Sigebert had Austrasia and Brunehaut. Peaceful Brother Gontran had Burgundy. The struggles between Neustria and Austrasia, between Frédégonde and Brunehaut, came next. Clotaire of Neustria became titular king of all the Franks in 613, but we saw that the lords of Austrasia were the real masters of the situation.

In Chapter Seven and in the year 615 there came the assembly at Paris that drafted the perpetual constitution. In 628 began the ten-year reign of good King Dagobert. At the end of that reign the power of the Merovingians passed forever, even though they continued to reign in name only until 752.

In 669 there appeared Ebroin, mayor of the palace in Neustria. He defied the lords and the bishops, flouted their perpetual constitution, and tried to restore centralized royal government along Roman lines. Brunehaut had made a similar but unsuccessful attempt in Austrasia. Since Ebroin was by far the ablest man in the two kingdoms, he had considerable success. We considered his successes in Chapter Eight until we came to his untimely death in 681.

The death of Ebroin permitted the rise to power of Pépin d'Héristal, leader of the lords of Austrasia, who won a final and notable victory over the Neustrians at Testry in 687. His son Charles, later known as Charles

Martel, succeeded to the leadership of the Franks, though not to the kingdom, in 714. Charles won a great victory over the invading Saracens in 732 and died in 740. We return to the story at the point where his son, Pépin the Short, became king in name as well as in fact, the pope being responsible for the final suppression of the old dynasty and for the establishment of a new one.

The new pope in 753 was Stephen II, and he was in great trouble. It was still a question of those troublesome Lombards. They were now threatening to take Rome itself. The situation became so bad that the pope himself left Rome, and even in those days it was against the custom for the pope to leave Rome. He crossed the Alps and, to speed the promised help of the Franks, he went to see the new king his predecessor had authorized at that new king's villa of Ponthion in what is now the department of the Marne. The pope and all his suite knelt before King Pépin and rose again only after he had promised to drive the Lombards far away from Rome.

However, before proceeding against the Lombards, Pépin profited by the presence of the pope to have himself and his two sons consecrated by the pope himself as king and future kings. This time the ceremony occurred at the monastery of St-Denis near Paris. It was designed to remove any lingering question about a reactionary return to the Merovingians. The tradition of Clovis was still strong. It was desirable to legalize the succession of Pépin's progeny to the throne as well as to stabilize his own seat upon it. The actual presence of the pope provided a fortunate opportunity to do that in an impressive manner. A new dynasty as well as a new king was very officially declared.

Stephen evidently was a thoroughly scared pope at

that time, ready to do almost anything to remove the nightmare of the Lombards. Right willingly he did all he could to strengthen the hold of Pépin upon his new job as king. He told the Frankish nobles who were assembled at St-Denis that he would promptly excommunicate any of them who recognized any other king than Pépin, or the sons of Pépin and their sons thereafter. Excommunication had come to be the big stick of those days. By this threat to use it, the house of Pépin was as well established by the pope as the house of Clovis had been established by the victories of Clovis. It was no slight thing to establish a new dynasty to rule over those conservative Teutons.

Pépin kept his part of the bargain and promptly proceeded to Italy. There the king of the Lombards, with equal promptitude, promised to be good and to restore to the pope all the cities that had been taken from him. That was in 754. Two years later, the Franks having departed from Italy, the Lombards forgot all about being good. They besieged Rome. They were most persistent trouble-makers. This new campaign was started in the middle of winter. Doubtless they thought that Pépin would be reluctant to leave his comfortable fireside in northern France to make in freezing weather the long journey over the mountains to Italy. But Pépin did. He and his warriors pushed right on through the snow. A thousand-mile cross-country march in freezing weather seems to have been merely a form of winter sport for the warriors of those days, especially if there was booty in view at the end of it. You wonder how they slept along the way; what sort of camps they made.

The Lombards, when they found the Franks were coming, made speed back from Rome to their own capital at Pavia. There Pépin and his men besieged them and compelled complete surrender. After that, a new and definite establishment was made of the

territorial domain of the pope. Until this time the title to that territory had remained, at least theoretically, an asset of the Byzantine emperor at Constantinople. Now the eastern emperor was declared dispossessed, and the title to the « States of the Church » in central Italy was vested in the pope. The title to these lands, thus created in 756, remained valid until 1870. For more than a thousand years the pope, kingmaker in the Middle Ages, thus had a kingdom of his own; that kingdom, reduced to miniature, has now, in 1929, been revived again. In the old days, the pope ruled the lands of Italy from Rome to Ravenna across the Apennines. Pépin, who established this arrangement, reserved for himself and for his successors a claim of suzerainty over Rome and the title, gladly granted, of Defender of the Church.

Having returned within his own borders, Pépin found a number of problems there yet to be solved. The Saracens still held the region along the Mediterranean between the Rhône and the Pyrenees. Charles Martel had not been able to dislodge them from their strongholds there, and their presence north of the Pyrenees was a constant menace. They were in the habit of raiding the adjacent territory. The region they occupied was then called Septimanie; it later became Languedoc and Roussillon. The principal city there was Narbonne. Pépin captured Narbonne and then drove the Saracens back into Spain.

He then turned his attention to Aquitaine. He crossed the neck of the Spanish peninsula by way of Toulouse, which must have been a much more agreeable journey than his winter march into Italy. The authority of his father had been clearly recognized, even gratefully conceded, in Aquitaine after he saved that country from the Saracens. But the memory and the gratitude of the Aquitanians were not long enduring. They had resumed independence and defied the

Franks. They found an able leader in Waifre, son of their King Hunald. Waifre not only resisted the Franks; he invaded their territory time and again, going on victoriously as far as Autun once, and once again even to Châlons. It required a terrific campaign of devastation to suppress him, and success came only after he had been assassinated by a traitor.

Aquitaine was still resisting when Pépin died in 768. He left two sons. They were Charles, named for his grandfather, and Carloman, named for that dim uncle, brother of Pépin, who had preferred to be a monk in Italy rather than a king in France. Perhaps that shadowy Uncle Carloman in his quiet convent in sunny Italy was the wisest of them all.

Following the ancient custom, the kingdom was now divided between the two brothers, and, also following an ancient custom, the two brothers promptly fell out. This discord between the brother kings greatly encouraged the Aquitanians to keep on fighting. A great deal of trouble was on the threshold when, after three years of kingship, Carloman died. The early passing away of the second Carloman was fortunate for the unity and strength of the kingdom. It left the stage practically clear for the greatest king of them all. The children of Carloman were very young, and their Uncle Charles had already proved himself very able. So the lords of Carloman's part of the kingdom, which was the northwestward part, declared themselves for Charles. The children of Carloman are heard of no more.

Charles inherited Aquitaine and trouble therewith. It was there, even before the death of Carloman, that he began his wonderful record of victories. Old King Hunald of Aquitaine, who had retired to a convent, came out again when he learned of the assassination of his son Waifre, and old Hunald then gave Charles

as much as he could handle for some time. Finally victorious, Charles, the better to maintain his victory, erected on the Dordogne the famous fortress of Fronsac.

Now, with this Charles who was to become Charlemagne, we come to the first tranquil period in the history of France since before the Teutonic invasions. It was in 771 that Carloman died, and his lords declared for Charles. For four hundred years France, not yet France, had known no peace. There had been the chaos of the invasions followed by the almost equal chaos of incessant warfare among rival groups. But now there came a lull after the long storm, a remarkable period of almost forty years of internal peace. In that period the power of the Frankish king became extended over practically the whole of western Europe.

Charlemagne had many wars, but they were, after Aquitaine, all wars on his frontiers or beyond them. Wars were to come after his death and rend and rack the territory he unified for a time, but the period of his reign was an interlude of peace of which France was in dire need. The remarkable feature of this interlude was the swiftness with which the groping of men toward higher things than war asserted itself. And it was Charlemagne, the son of Frankish barbarians, who gave the impetus to this awakening. Charlemagne was great in war, but he was even greater as an organizer of peace and of education.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ALL CHARLEMAGNE.

Meet one of the greatest men of all time. His reign was the bright interlude in the Dark Ages. He alone, in a period of eight hundred years, gave Europe something like peace. He could not sign his name and he loved to go swimming. His court was a combination of school and camp. He baptized the Saxons at Paderborn and was crowned emperor on Christmas.

Charlemagne's first big job after the death of his brother was to remove from the now united kingdom the danger of new invasions. As long as he lived that danger remained removed. We have seen how the territory of France was constantly invaded or threatened with invasions for more than four hundred years, most of the trouble coming from over the Rhine. Charlemagne, on the principle that the best defense is an attack, carried the war into the enemy's country.

He crossed the Rhine to try to establish there some semblance of order and some respect for the rights of neighbors on the part of turbulent tribes whose behavior was a constant menace. Those turbulent tribes had formed the habit of looking upon France as a sort of Promised Land. As long as they held that view there was no prospect of security in northeastern France. The Promised Land for the Germans was the land they already held and not any other. Charlemagne taught them that, at least for a time. It would be too much to say that he civilized Germany, but he did introduce a certain stability there, a certain tendency to develop present holdings rather than to go

raiding elsewhere. Germany, after his campaigns there, became a known and somewhat definite quantity rather than a vague, unknown, and immeasurable threat.

The seat of the Teutonic trouble was in Saxony, in that wild swamp and forest covered area between the Rhine and the Elbe. Frankish and other Christian missionaries had made progress in other parts of Germany, but none at all in Saxony. The ferocious Saxon tribes held tenaciously to heathen gods and killed with cruelty the missionaries who tenaciously sought to convert them.

Charlemagne made his first expedition into Saxony in 772 and had some successes at that time. He captured the strong places of Ehresbourg and Siegbourg, destroyed a famous idol, and received the surrender of a good many of the enemy. But the job was only partly done when a new outbreak on the part of the Lombards compelled him to make haste to Italy.

The campaign against the pests of Italy was entirely successful, but it took some time. Meanwhile the Saxons took advantage of Charlemagne's absence to renew their attacks with more violence than ever. It took three years of swamp and forest fighting to subdue them, but this time the job seemed thoroughly done. Charlemagne then left the German forests for a campaign in Spain. Before he left, he compelled the principal chiefs of the Saxons to accept baptism into Christianity. The scene of this ceremony was impressive; it was held in the woods at Paderborn in the year 777. There Charlemagne held that year his *champs de mars,* and there, in the heart of a forest held sacred to Odin, the Saxon chiefs sullenly accepted baptism in the gushing springs.

Naturally enough, that forced conversion was not of long duration. Witikind, ablest of the Saxons, returned from among the Danes where he had taken refuge,

reorganized the Saxon forces, and led them across the Rhine into Frankish territory. Charlemagne on his return from Spain decided that the only way to keep the Saxons in order was to exterminate them. This the Frankish warriors nearly did. For two years Saxony became their hunting ground and the Saxons were chased down like wild animals. Finally Witikind surrendered and Charlemagne was wise enough to pardon him. They even became friends and Witikind governed Westphalia for his conqueror.

The campaign in Spain was at the invitation of some of the Saracens themselves. They had rebelled against their own chief, the Caliph of Cordova, and invited Charlemagne to help with this rebellion. He made a successful campaign between the Pyrenees and the Ebro. The most celebrated incident of this minor campaign occurred at the very end of it, when the army, returning into France, was emerging from the Pyrenees. It was then that Roland, favorite of Charlemagne and in command of the rear guard, fell into an ambuscade. He and his companions perished heroically in the pass of Roncesvalles. In all the half-legendary romance of early days nothing is better known than the death song of Roland, a favorite of the troubadours. That long song celebrates the prowess of Durandel, the sword of Roland that cut through granite rocks, and his magic horn, his olifant, that could be heard a score of miles away. The song of Roland, believed to have been composed in Normandy, was sung at the battle of Hastings.

After all these victories the kingdom of Charlemagne extended from the Elbe in Germany to the Ebro in Spain, from the North Sea down into Italy. Naturally enough, his enemies decided to unite against him. The pope got wind of this plot and warned Charlemagne. To overcome the alliance formed against him he had to fight in Germany, in Italy, and in the valley

of the Danube. The most interesting of these campaigns was the one in the valley of the Danube. There Frankish warriors campaigned for eight years against the Avars. These Avars, cousins of the Huns, had been raiding from that part of Europe for over two hundred years. In that time they had amassed an

The death of Roland in the pass at Roncesvalles.

enormous store of booty which, conveniently for the Franks had been stored in a great fortified place on the Danube. This was as bad for the Avars as rich oil wells might be for their descendants; they were sure to be interfered with. The Franks finally captured that booty-depot on the Danube, and all who were there at the time became rich.

Charlemagne, victorious over his allied enemies, was more firmly established than ever. The enemy alliance only strengthened the power that it sought to

A sketch to show the extent of the Carolingian empire.

overthrow. The Frankish king was now master of practically all of what had been the western part of the Roman Empire. Pope Leo III decided to revive in his favor the title that had not been used since the fall of the empire, the title emperor. Charlemagne was in Rome in the year 800, and at the end of that year, at the Christmas fêtes, he was crowned by the

The coronation in the year 800 at Saint-Peter's in Rome of Charlemagne as emperor.

pope in St-Peter's as emperor of the western world. Thus he became temporal chief of all Christendom, whose spiritual chief was the pope. The « Holy Roman Empire » was thereby forecast.

The troubles Charlemagne had with the Saxons, and the interest he took in them, led him finally to select Aix-la-Chapelle, near Saxony, as his permanent capital. Thus the greatest king of the Franks, and sovereign of what is now France, had his capital and his final resting place in what is now German terri-

tory. Saxony, colonized by Franks and redeemed from barbarism, became one of the pioneer countries of the new tendencies toward civilization.

Charlemagne built a fine palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, fine at least for those days, and when he settled down there at last, he entrusted the government of the more distant parts of the empire to his sons. Son Pepin had the title of king of Italy and Son Lothaire was king of Aquitaine, but father never let them forget that they were subordinate to him.

Charlemagne was not misled by the sound of his new title. He was wise enough not to make the mistake of imperialism in his government. He maintained the democratic forms of the Franks, and did not seek to restore the absolutism of Rome. The general assemblies were continued, and to them, twice a year, all free men could come and be welcome. Naturally, however, then as now, great popular assemblies were more a form than an effective instrument of government. Charlemagne presented his proposed new measures to the bishops and lords and, when they had approved, these new measures were read to the general assembly. This reading, formality though it was, was none the less a recognition of the principle of consent of the governed, and there appears to be no doubt that Charlemagne had that consent. No new measure was considered in proper force and vigor before it had been enacted by virtue of this reading before a general assembly.

In the selection of his ruling counts Charlemagne avoided the appointment of large landed proprietors, appointing rather those who would serve themselves best by serving the government first; he thus restrained feudal tendencies. He had an important organization of inspectors, both ecclesiastical and lay inspectors, who made their rounds four times every year and reported to him personally. By such means he kept

in touch with all parts of his very extensive domains. He showed passion for detail in prescribing precisely how all his officials should perform. There is no doubt that he had genius for administration.

In the imperial domain, meaning by that the land of which the emperor himself was proprietor, immense farms were developed. Charlemagne was keen on the economical administration of these farms. He drew up with exactitude production and sales plans

Charlemagne and his court often rode to the hunt.

for each of them. He prescribed just how many chickens there should be on each farm, how much salt pork should be sold, how much beer should be brewed. The result was that more imperial revenue came in from the imperial farms than from taxes. The emperor undoubtedly sold the best beer.

In the organization of his army Charlemagne's methods were superior to some much more recent. Instead of the rich profiteering from war, they were required to pay for it in proportion to their wealth. The more property you owned, the more you had to contribute for equipping and maintaining soldiers, besides going yourself.

The emperor was particular about the company at

his court. He appears to have been sociable and liked to have a crowd around, but there were some he would not ask in, and some he had thrown out. He loved to discuss all sorts of questions, and seemed actually to prefer the company of those who knew more than he, at least in certain subjects. He was eager to learn. His court was more like a school, a rough and merry school, than any other king's court

Fights were frequent on the ground floor of the palaces of Charlemagne.

of which we have record. A professor might be more important there than a prince. Another interesting feature of this court was that women, especially the daughters of Charlemagne, were allowed and even encouraged to speak up.

Apart from its final residence in the palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, the court of Charlemagne was decidedly nomadic. He had a number of villas in various parts of the empire, and to these the court would follow him. These royal villas were always located near large forests and near a good place to swim. Swimming and hunting were the favorite sports of this admirable emperor, who, with all his wisdom, perhaps on account of it, seems never to have outgrown enjoy-

ment of the sports of his boyhood. To go with him to one of his country places must have been like going on a fine camping trip. It was certain to be lively and interesting.

In those camp-like courts the royal house was square and had porches all the way around. Farther out there was a sort of ring of smaller houses for the

The emperor received envoys from Bagdad who were sent with gifts by Haroun-al-Raschid.

people of the court. The downstairs part of the royal house was kept open day and night. When it was cold, there were open fires and open hospitality as long as you behaved. All could come freely to warm themselves and find shelter right under where the king slept. All sorts of people came. The emperor must have been a sound sleeper. It didn't seem to bother him at all to have a noisy, quarrelling crowd right under him so long as nobody was killed. He had a few special officers on duty to prevent the fights from going too far.

A scrivening monk of those days described how Charlemagne, leaning on his elbows at his window, used to enjoy watching the crowd below and having those who displeased him fired out. He had a rule that if any of his officers allowed an undesirable to

get in under the palace where the fire was, it would become that officer's duty to carry said undesirable out on his own back as far as the market place.

If the court of Charlemagne was a school, it was one where outdoor sports were not neglected. There was plenty of hunting and swimming. They say that

The school in the palace.
• The emperor came down hard on lazy pupils. •

Charlemagne used to make a bee-line for the swimming hole himself, the first thing every morning. His palace must have seemed as much like a club house as a palace, the house of a democratic sort of club where nobody thought of putting on airs, and where the popular president was elected for life. Here was one spot in the Dark Ages that looks bright.

Wise men from many lands were attracted to the court of Charlemagne, and, when he finally settled

down at Aix-la-Chapelle, he founded a school with these wise men for teachers. There he himself took his place as a pupil along with his own children.

It was required that throughout the empire, even in the villages, the Church should maintain free schools. The emperor used to visit these schools, rewarding the good scholars and coming down hard on others, especially on the sons of the nobility whenever he found them lagging behind those of more humble origin.

Charlemagne died in 814, one of the few kings of France of whom we wish he might have lived much longer. If there is any court like his anywhere today, or anything like his court, we wish we had the address.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

DIVINE RIGHT. THE FIRST LOUIS AND HIS SONS. FONTANET. THE TREATY OF VERDUN.

The Church helped kings to become kings, and the pope became a sort of super-king. The « divine right » idea takes root. The first Louis loses. His sons fight it out at Fontanet. The winners ask the bishops what to do next. The map of Europe was remade at Verdun. Dismemberment of the Empire.

Charlemagne was ahead of his times. Humanity was not yet up to the job of maintaining and developing what he so admirably began. Those perennial enemies of mankind, stupidity and greed, soon accomplished their destructive work. Charlemagne's reign was like a fugitive little season of bright days that comes before winter is done, a little season that just shows what spring might really be, and then is gone again. The heavy curtain of man's inheritance, lifted for a little, was soon to fall. The scene darkens.

Although the empire of Charlemagne soon fell to pieces, some of his great work had permanent effects. His suppression of barbarism over the Rhine put an end to great invasions from that direction for a long time. Also, the Holy Roman Empire idea that he and the pope together had started lived on in name and in fact for many years and had important effects on European history. France, to be sure, quite promptly got out of the empire, but had good reason to remember it. Indeed that vague empire that the work of the Frankish warriors brought into being proved

ungrateful to their descendants. At times it became a definite and serious menace to France.

The Church profited greatly through the Franks and especially through Charlemagne, the greatest of the Franks. The profit to the Church began with the battle of Tolbiac, the consequent conversion of Clovis, and his consecration as king by St-Remi after his baptism. To the Frankish warriors an important and inseparable idea of the new religion was that it gave to their king a literally divine right to be king. The priests saw to it that this idea remained inseparable with the faith, and also the corollary thereof that the Church and only the Church could bestow this divine right. The Frankish warriors had seen their king consecrated by the representative of God. His consecration and their baptism had been practically the same ceremony. Naturally they looked upon that consecration as an act of God that set the king distinctly apart from the ordinary run of men. Thereafter the king and pope were regarded by the faithful somewhat as partners, or at least representatives, of the new God. The consecration by the pope himself of Pépin as king, and then later, by another pope, of Charlemagne as emperor did much to strengthen this conception. The « divine right of kings » became an accepted and popular idea, an idea that had profound effects then and thereafter.

The Frankish kings needed the help of the Church to establish them as kings and to disestablish the old Teutonic ideas of equality, those primitive ideas, the natural expression of prehistoric men, that the Franks brought with them out of the German forests Only the Church could give a supernatural and fearsome sanction to kings that would be more enduring in effect than the old lifting-up on the shields of one chosen to be chief only during the consent of the choosers. So the Church did much for the kings, but,

in doing so, how much more it did for itself! In having the kings it made accepted as kings, the Church made itself the king-maker. Once the divine right idea was accepted, who could be the arbiter and trustee of that divine right except the representative on earth of the Christian God? Since that representative was the Church, and the head of the Church was the pope, the pope became a sort of super-king. Thus the Church, weak and in precarious position in the time of Clovis, became in the time of Charlemagne established and all-powerful.

How great the profit had been in standing up to those Frankish barbarians and outwitting them! St Remi and all his co-workers builded better than they knew. By virtue of the simple logic they taught their simple converts, the Church became the strongest human force in the world, and the pope more powerful than the kings. For a long time it was undoubtedly well that this was so. In the general crash that came after Charlemagne, only the Church could save the situation from complete chaos. Without the Church, and the Church without the power that thus came to it, the Feudal Ages that we now approach would have been dark indeed.

Charlemagne was succeeded by his son Louis, called the Pious or the Débonnaire. Louis is reported to have been a comely and an amiable man, but his father's position called for other qualities than comeliness and amiability. These other more necessary qualities the first Louis evidently lacked. It was said of him that he had all the virtues of a monk and none of the qualities of a king. The poor man might better have followed the example of his great-uncle Carloman and headed straight for a monastery. Other people ran him as long as he lived, especially Hermengarde, his first wife, and Judith, her successor.

Louis's first mistake was to give too much power to the lords and the bishops. Also he lost the influence over the pope that his father had. Charlemagne had arranged for the emperor to have the power of veto when it came to the election of a new pope. Louis, however, was too amiable to insist on this, and the popes were just as glad to delete from the rules the provision as to imperial sanction.

Hermengarde urged Louis to make kings out of her three sons, Lothaire, Pépin, and Louis Junior. He foolishly gave in on this point too. He gave Italy to Lothaire, Aquitaine to Pépin, and Germany to Louis. His nephew Bernard, son of the Pépin to whom Charlemagne had entrusted the government of Italy, would not recognize this new arrangement. He did not propose to be supplanted by his cousin Lothaire, eldest son of Louis, to whom Italy had been assigned. Bernard tried to establish the independence of Italy, but failed. He was captured and condemned to have his eyes put out. Hermengarde saw to it that his life was put out with his eyes so that her son would have no rival in Italy. This queen was in a fair way to become a second Frédégonde when she died. That so overcame her sentimental spouse that he performed public penance; for what, it is not clear. But it is clear that he lost a good deal of prestige thereby. A penitent emperor was not the kind his subjects wanted.

Louis, having ended his mourning for Hermengarde, married Judith of Bavaria, reported to have been beautiful and artful. Charles, later called the Bald, was a son of this marriage. Louis thought it would be a good idea to make young Charles a king like his older brothers, but the older brothers thought that would be not so good because the plan involved making them give up some of the territory they already had. Besides, how could they tell how many more

little half-brothers might come along? They promptly revolted and deposed their father; that was in 829. The Austrasian warriors, however, who were the real makers of the empire, although they despised Louis, were not yet ready to see the son of Charlemagne deposed. In the following year, with the consent and cooperation of the Church, they put him back on the job.

Louis apparently learned nothing from this experience. Three years later he tried the redivision experiment again, and again he had a revolt on his hands. This time it was much more serious. The pope was against him. He was looking for a chance to prove that the papacy was more powerful than the emperor, even though that emperor was a son of the man who had made the papacy what it was. The Franks had saved the pope from the Lombards. Now the pope wanted to save himself from being run by the Franks. Also, it would be in the interest of the Church to have several kings to manage rather than one emperor who might manage the Church.

In line with this policy, Pope Gregory IV sustained the sons of Louis against their father and threatened to excommunicate any who remained faithful to him. Louis was defeated at Lugenfeld. He was compelled to make public confession of his sins, whatever they were, in the church of St-Medard at Soissons. Then he was deprived of his high office and shut up in a cloister like the last of the Merovingians.

However, unlike the last of the Merovingians, the first Louis came out again. This was because his sons could not get along with each other any better than they got along with their father. Lothaire, the eldest, tried to control Louis and Pépin. So Louis and Pépin freed their father and asked him to be emperor again. They knew they could manage him. But Louis the Pious would not be emperor again unless the bishops

consented. They said he might, and so he became emperor again in 834. Promptly he got into trouble again. Son Pépin having died, Louis wished to make a new division, the fourth that he attempted, in favor of that youngest son Charles. He simply did not know how to leave well enough alone, and was always playing at dividing up the empire. His son Louis now revolted against him, and Father Louis, marching against his son, died of grief or something near Mayence in 840.

Lothaire was the heir. Lothaire had been reigning in Italy. Naturally he wanted to be emperor and have his brothers take orders from him. But his brothers, thanks to the weakness of their father, were not in the habit of taking orders from anybody. They did not hesitate to disapprove the idea of taking any from Lothaire. If a father had not been able to rule them, how was a brother going to manage it?

The Italians, of course, supported Lothaire, as also did the old Austrasians who had created the empire. But the Austrasians were not the power they once had been. It was not that they had deteriorated, but they had become diminished in numbers and dispersed. They had followed Charlemagne on fifty-three expeditions, they had had heavy losses in battle, and many of them had settled far away from their old homes as ruling counts and barons.

Against the forces of Lothaire were combined the Germans of Louis, now called Louis the German, and the Neustrians and Aquitanians of Charles the Bald who had finally succeeded in succeeding his half-brother Pépin. These forces met in the memorable battle of Fontanet. That was a great battle for those days. Three hundred thousand men fought in it and there was more killing than usual. Lothaire was defeated. This battle is worth remembering on account of important consequences it produced much later. You might say

that the battle of Fontanet resulted in the splitting-up of the empire into Italy, Germany, and what was to become France, except that the splitting was done in such a way that there was a wide belt of territory between France and Germany that belonged to neither and about which there was much trouble later on. The battle of Fontanet was fought on the twenty-fifth of June, 841, near the city of Auxerre which is about a hundred miles southeast of Paris.

The following account comes from Nithard, who was himself a grandson of Charlemagne. It gives a first-rate idea of how the behavior in battle of the Franks had changed since first they came as barbarians into France. It also shows to what extent the bishops now had them cowed.

« All hope of peace being removed, Louis and Charles sent word to Lothaire that on the following day, at the second hour of the day, they would come to the judgment of Almighty God. Lothaire, as was his custom, treated the envoys with insolence, answering that they would see that he knew how to look to himself. At daybreak, Louis and Charles broke up their camp and occupied, with a third of their army, the summit of an eminence bordering on the camp of Lothaire, and awaited his advance. Then ensued a great and fierce conflict on the banks of a small river. Lothaire was routed and fled with all his men. After the battle, Louis and Charles took counsel together as to the treatment of the fugitives. The two kings, having compassion on their brother and his people, proposed to display to them at this time the mercy of God. The rest of the army having agreed to this, they all broke off the action and returned to their camp about midday. On the morrow, which was Sunday, after the celebration of mass, they buried friends and enemies alike, and tended all the wounded with equal kindness to the best of their ability. Then the kings and the

army, grieved that they should have come to blows with a brother and with Christians, asked the bishops what they should do. »

« All the bishops met in council, and it was decided in that assembly that the fight had been entered upon in the cause of justice, which the judgment of God had clearly proved, and that accordingly, whoever had taken part in the fray, either by advice or action, should, as the instrument of the Will of God, be exempt from all shadow of blame. »

Charles the Bald and Louis the German, victorious, proceeded to Strasbourg. That must have been an agreeable march; it was early summer and the way lay through beautiful country. At Strasbourg, Charles and Louis, in the presence of their united armies, made formal oath of alliance against Lothaire whom they swore to resist to the bitter end. Charles did his swearing in German so that he could be understood by the soldiers of Louis, whereas Louis swore in *Romane* so he could be understood by the men of Charles. *Romane*, a mixture of Latin and German, was the hybrid language then current in Neustria and in Aquitaine. From it the French language evolved. The oath of Louis the German at Strasbourg is the oldest record in existence of this rudimentary French.

The oath of Strasbourg made such an impression upon Lothaire that he decided to give in without further fighting. He proposed a conference, and so we come to the making of the famous treaty of Verdun in 843. Commissioners were sent throughout the empire to make a sort of census, and, on the basis of their findings, the map of Europe was remade. It would be interesting if we could compare the proceedings and the considerations to which they gave weight at Verdun with the proceedings and considerations of much more recent re-makers of the map of Europe. Yet,

though we have no record of the proceedings in 843, we know that decisions and mistakes made then had effects upon similar decisions and mistakes made at Vienna nearly a thousand years later, and, indirectly, they affected even the recent treaty of Versailles.

The treaty of Verdun divided the empire into three

The division of the empire in accordance with the treaty of Verdun, 843.

parts. To Lothaire fell Italy and Austrasia, an awkward area, far too long from north to south and containing enough kinds of people to insure its prompt dismemberment. No really suitable single name

could be found for this awkward, composite area, so they called it Lotharingia. The invention of Lotharingia was one of the early mistakes in state-making against the laws of nature. The modern name Lorraine is only another way of saying the Kingdom of Lothaire.

Louis the German secured everything in the empire east of the Rhine and north of the Alps, and that was called Germany. It was a solid, coherent, naturally unified region, which, despite many vicissitudes of dismemberment that followed, always revealed strong mutual affinities throughout its various parts, and has still a natural tendency toward coalescence.

The part that fell to Charles the Bald was in large part what is France today. But it was a France that stopped on its eastern side at the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhône; there Lotharingia began. To be natural as to its boundaries, France should have gone on to the Alps and the Rhine. The treaty of Verdun, in making the region between the Meuse and the Rhine a long tongue of the impossible kingdom of Lotharingia, determined the scene of tragic events of the distant future. It confirmed the fate of that region to be for centuries a battleground. It did that by restricting the natural development of France eastward, and in giving opportunity for the establishment of German elements west of the Rhine. If the Alps in their making had only been lifted up as far as the North Sea instead of stopping in Switzerland, how different the result might have been in history.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE KING'S POWER WANES. CHARLES THE BALD. NORMAN PIRATES. CHARLES THE FAT.

The breaking-up process continues. France, just born, shows signs of dissolution. While the king raids Italy, the Normans raid France. The nobles get hereditary titles and Robert the Strong becomes a duke. Every man for himself now. A German king is called in. He proves a failure except with a fork, though more probably he used his fingers.

The division of the empire by the treaty of Verdun in 843 has been called the birth of France. It was a strange birth. What actually happened looked at the outset more like dissolution than like nativity. France had to go all to pieces in order to be built up again. Her infancy was extremely precarious, and marked by major operations. Often she was on the brink of destruction by hostile powers that developed in her own territory. It was a long time before she could control that which was really her own, before she could establish anything like peace in her family. But the fusion of the Gallo-Romans with the Franks was an established fact. They had developed a more or less common language, and their interests were the same; it is reported that by this time you could hardly tell them apart. The treaty of Verdun gave to these people independence of the empire. As a people they were free to work out their own destiny. Even their own king was about to give them freedom from him.

The break-up of the Carolingian empire was a good thing. The people who composed it were not ready

for any common government. It required the genius of a Charlemagne to make an empire of western Europe go, and western Europe could not produce a Charlemagne save very rarely. So it was best, given the conditions of society at that time, that the empire should break up into its natural divisions. It was best that each group should work out its own destiny within natural boundaries.

Nowadays mountain ranges, wide rivers, and even seas mean little as national boundaries. To such extent has the modern world perfected communication and accelerated the movement of goods and of ideas, that, of the boundaries that remain between nations, the mental ones are more important than the physical. When humanity finally achieves better accord as to ideas, when once the mental barriers are down, then there may be genuine cooperation between all civilized nations. But conditions were very remote from that in Europe in 843. The great need then was for people to get on better terms with each other at home. They were handicapped in that process when they were involved in affairs beyond their natural frontiers. So the treaty of Verdun was a good thing, save that some of the boundaries it set were not natural.

Still it looked for a time as though the process of decentralization set going there would never stop. It was as though society, following some obscure law of its nature, had to be subdivided into its least common denominators, into its ultimate units of structure, before it could start rebuilding the machinery of cooperation. The ambitions of the grandsons of Charlemagne, and particularly of Charles the Bald, to restore the empire and wear the imperial crown had much to do with this further weakening of government and dismemberment of territory.

The treaty of Verdun opened the way for the natural development of France, Germany, and Italy, with the

handicap on Italy that whoever was her king inherited also the title of emperor and all the foolish dreams that inevitably went therewith. But for a long time national development was delayed and the breaking-up process continued. It continued until every land owner became practically in himself the government of the land he owned. Government became a sort of by-product of proprietorship. That return toward the primitive, that dissolution into small groups that clustered around strong men, constituted a stage in the evolution of society that became formulated in what is called the feudal system.

The feudal system had much that is attractive about it. Much that was stirring, romantic, and admirable happened in what are called the Feudal Ages, together with much that was stupid and cruel. This period opened up a field for individual achievement, and developed a code of etiquette of its own. The code was the code of chivalry whose very name still stands for what is admirable in the nature of man. Man seemed to grow through becoming his own man again, but it should be noted that only the nobility had a chance to do that. There were also the serfs.

This breaking-up of France into more or less independent parts that yielded only formal allegiance to a titular king makes it impossible to follow consecutively during this period the history of France as one story. For the next few centuries after the treaty of Verdun the history of France, like its territory, breaks up into a number of separate histories; each of the several divisions had its own. So we are compelled to focus our attention for a long time upon the history of that part of France to which we have already referred as the island that grew to be France. That island was the duchy of France, later Ile-de-France, and its center was Paris. Of the regions more remote from Paris, of Provence and of Aquitaine, of Brittany and of

Burgundy, we shall hear less for a time. We shall hear of them as though they were foreign rivals of France. Rivals they certainly were, but never foreign to France in nature.

Normandy furnishes an exception to the foregoing statements. Normandy did become a rival of France, and a stronghold of its greatest enemy for many years, but the history of Normandy and the history of the house of France were so closely interwoven from the first Capetian king onward that one cannot be told without telling much of the other. Further than that, the fact that Normandy conquered England brought England so intimately into the history of France that we were tempted to call this book *Kings of France and some of England.*

Despite the fusion of the Gallo-Romans and the Franks, the differences remained deep between the people of the north and those of the south. The *Romane* language as spoken in the south was called *langue d'oc*, while as spoken in the north it was called *langue d'oil.* In the Feudal Ages those differences between north and south, partly due to climate, became still more marked on account of isolation, and they continue to exist today. Southern France is still rather exotic to the « true France » of the north. The heart of the developments we are tracing, the heart of France, has never been far from Paris.

To return to our kings. The real problem confronting Charles the Bald, first king of France after the treaty of Verdun, was to consolidate his government and to organize resistance to new enemies already upon his territory. Unfortunately, he himself did not see his problem that way at all; he thought it was something entirely different. The territory he already had did not seem to interest him much. He was a confirmed extra-territorialist. The imperial bee was

in his bonnet. He had a disastrous desire for an extra crown or two, a desire common and equally disastrous to many of his successors and to the people over whom their divine right extended.

While the sons of Louis the Pious were quarrelling over the division of the empire, new enemies had crossed its borders. While they were fighting at Fontanet, Norman pirates were pillaging the cities of the southwest and the Saracens were again raiding from the south. In Germany too there were new and terrible invaders. These were the Hongres, later called Hungarians, another group like the Avars. They came ravaging as far west as Bâle and Strasbourg. Since we get the word vandalism from the Vandals and avaricious from the Avars, it seems only fair to mention that the word ogre comes from the Hongres. In the popular imagination they were eaters of children.

With all these storms breaking upon his borders, you might think that Charles would have been busy organizing a strong defense, but Charles did not think so. He carried on a useless and unsuccessful war with a new king in Brittany and fought his cousin Pépin who had a rival claim to Aquitaine. Pépin gave him a beating at Angoulême in 845. Yet with all this trouble at home Charles could not get his attention off the idea of winning something away from his brothers who ruled Italy and Germany. He dreamed of restoring to his own advantage the Carolingian empire, and the amazing thing is that he had a certain fleeting success in that direction.

Lothaire died in 855 leaving his various states to three sons who promptly also died. Charles at once put in a claim for these states. They were Lorraine, as the region between the Meuse and the Rhine came to be called, Burgundy, and Italy. Of course Brother Louis of Germany challenged the claim of Charles. A long war began between them.

Meanwhile the Norman pirates went on pillaging at their ease. They raided and raided again Nantes, Saintes, Bordeaux, Orléans, Toulouse, and even the suburbs of Paris. Something had to be done about it. The last thing Charles wanted to do was to go home to fight off the Normans. It was much more interesting to fight his own brother. So he authorized

The Normans in their dragon-ships sailed or rowed up the rivers of France at their ease.

certain counts and dukes to take charge of the protection of certain regions. This authorization amounted to making the indicated protectors the masters of the regions they were to protect, that is if they could keep off the Normans. Chief among the nobles delegated to fight the Normans was Robert the Strong, Count of Anjou. To him Charles entrusted the protection of the region lying between the Seine and the Loire. This

region was declared the duchy of France and Robert its duke. We shall hear much more of the duchy of France and of Robert and of his descendants.

Charles succeeded in winning half of Lorraine. Then he found himself in grave need of more men and money for carrying on a campaign in Italy which, if successful, would get him the imperial iron crown. Accordingly, in 877, he issued the edict of Kiersy-sur-Oise, an edict by which the lands of the lords and their governmental rights thereon were made hereditary, at least in the king's absence. Heretofore these titles had generally been good for life only. The edict of Kiersy is claimed to be the legal foundation of feudal rights. It had the effect of a bargain by which the title to the kingdom was practically transferred from the king to the lords. A little later, nearly all the king had left was his title as king. A bad bargain this turned out to be for the kings. What the immediate successors of Charles said about the edict of Kiersy has not been recorded, which goes to suggest that it was not fit for the monks to record. If ever a king sold his inheritance and that of his family for a mess of pottage, Charles did.

The lords, in exchange for the permanent titles they got to their lands and to the rights appertaining thereto, furnished Charles with fresh forces. With these he promptly accomplished the conquest of Italy, which seems to have been one of the easiest things a king could do in those days. He did put on the imperial crown, but his head was hardly used to it when he died. That was in 877, the same year as the edict of Kiersy.

Charles had won the empire for a fleeting moment, but he had left his own country to the mercy of some boat-loads of pirates. He had won victories beyond his own borders, but he had bartered away his kingdom. He had fulfilled a foolish dream, but only a dream it was. While pursuing the dream he had established

a reality that was to overthrow his house and found a new dynasty in France. The reality arose from the authority he had given to Robert the Strong to rule and to protect the lands between the Seine and the Loire. Robert and his successors did rule those lands and protect them more or less until from that beginning they came to rule all France.

Charles the Bald was no weakling. He was an energetic and ambitious man. During the thirty-seven years of his reign he was always on the move, but he seemed to be always moving in the wrong direction.

The successor of Charles was his son, Louis II, the Stutterer. The Stutterer « reigned miserably » for two years and died. His two sons, Louis III and Carloman, reigned conjointly. Two remarkable things marked this conjoint reign. The royal brothers won a victory over the Normans and they did not fight each other. Perhaps that was because their joint reign lasted only two years. That was too bad, because they both showed much promise of becoming good kings. Louis died in 882 and Carloman two years later, both « in the flower of their youth ».

There was a still younger brother of Louis and Carloman, a child who had been born after his father died. This child was later to become king as Charles the Simple, and he turned out to be not so simple as that sounds, but in 884, the year of Carloman's death, he was only five years old. So the assembled lords of France decided to invite to the throne Charles called the Fat, a son of Louis the German.

The fat Charles had already inherited Germany and Italy, the son of Charles the Bald having made no pretension to the imperial crown of Italy that his father had held so briefly and at such great cost. With Charles the Fat there was a last chance for the restitution of the empire if Charles had been the man for the job. Fortunately perhaps, he was not. In fact, he

was about as remote as possible from being the man for the job. His one great passion was to sit and eat. This mere glutton was a great-grandson of Charlemagne and he had a chance to restore and to rule over the empire that Charlemagne had founded. But that was not to be. Charles preferred to concentrate on food and drink, and probably it was as well that he did.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

END OF THE CAROLINGIANS. BEGINNING OF THE CAPETIANS.

Charles the Fat shows the white feather and is deposed. Eudes, defender of Paris and son of Robert the Strong, becomes king. Charles the Simple becomes a rival king and outlives brave Eudes. Charles cedes Normandy to the Normans who had it anyhow. The ridiculous reign of Overseas Louis. Exit the Carolingians.

Charles the Fat was invited to the throne of France in 885. The Normans at that time were besieging Paris. The Parisians were making a desperate resistance and pinning all their hopes on the coming of the new king to rescue them. Eudes, son of Robert the Strong, and the Bishop Gozlin were the leaders of the memorable defense of Paris. To it we shall return in the next chapter.

Charles finally arrived near Paris with an army much larger than that of the pirates. But once there he did not have the courage to attack. All he did was to bribe the enemy to retire. As a further inducement to get them to do this, he invited them to go as his guests and plunder Burgundy that winter. The Normans had not as yet plundered Burgundy but Burgundy was really their objective when they were stopped at Paris. So, being paid to do so, they cordially accepted Charles's remarkable invitation.

Divine right or not, the lords could not stand for such a cowardly king as Charles. Instead of chasing the Normans out of France, he permitted them to come in still farther. At an assembly of lords and bishops

in 887, he was declared « useless and incapable », and deposed both as king and as emperor. That ended forever any chance of restoring the Carolingian empire. It broke up into seven distinct kingdoms. These were France, Germany, Italy, Lorraine, Navarre, Burgundy, and Provence. Aquitaine and Brittany were already independent. Never since Charles the Fat have France, Italy and Germany again been united under one monarch.

We now come to a period that is much confused, and especially so as to the succession of kings. In the interest of clarity, let us consider the succession of the kings first and the behavior of the Normans afterwards.

The entrance of the Normans by the western gates of France had profound effects. Heretofore the particularly perilous frontier had been the northeastern one. Now the peril shifted to the west. That being the case, the kings shifted too. They shifted to the east. The invaders were coming in from the Atlantic instead of from over the Rhine. Lorraine enjoyed a brief breathing spell while the Ile-de-France became a battle-ground. It was Paris that bore the brunt of the new invasions, and that turned out to be the making of Paris; that and the residence of the Capets there. As a brunt-bearer Paris gained a great reputation. She emerged from the conflicts with the Normans with an heroic record. Thereafter she was the unchallenged capital of France.

The Carolingian kings showed a strong inclination to stay away and to leave the troubles in the west to the dukes of France. New dynasties arise from the troubles and weaknesses of old ones; in this case the dukes of France soon had a dynasty of their own going. This new dynasty, the Capetian, both overlaps and alternates with the Carolingian one. From

that fact comes the confusion in the succession of kings to which we have referred. The struggle between the old dynasty and the new one covers a period of exactly one hundred years, from 887 to 987.

Of the seven kingdoms into which the empire broke up after Charles the Fat was deposed, five were on the soil of modern France. Besides those five. there were also Aquitaine and Brittany. So the kings of France at that time could count as their uncontested territory little more than the Ile-de-France. Their title as king of the rest of France carried with it hardly more than the title. The lords and bishops, directly after the deposition of Charles, chose Eudes, brave defender of Paris and son of Robert the Strong, to be king, but he was accepted as such only from the Loire to the Meuse.

In the eleven years of his reign, 887 to 898, Eudes had some success over the Normans. His most notable defeat of them was at Montfaucon in the Argonne. This same Montfaucon was the scene a little more than a thousand years later of the defeat of other invaders by friends of France from a country then so unknown that it was only discovered six centuries later. On account of this later battle of Montfaucon, it happens that nearly every American knows where that little hill town is. You can tell from that how deep became the penetration of France by the roving bands of the Normans. The Normans were pioneers in the art of infiltration. When Eudes beat some of them at Montfaucon others were engaged in the sacking of Meaux, Troyes, Toul and Verdun. After Charles the Fat invited them to Burgundy, they became permanent guests.

Eudes had the good sense not to worry about the rival kingdoms on the soil of France as long as he had more pressing troubles on his hands. But he did find opportunity to force the duke of Aquitaine to renounce his title of king and swear fealty. As for

Lorraine, Burgundy, Brittany, and Navarre, he ignored them. As for Provence, it was far away, and it was a hornet's nest of Saracens anyhow. They had established themselves near Fréjus and for many years did a profitable business in holding up travellers between France and Italy and in raiding up the Rhône. The mountains between Toulon and Fréjus are still called the mountains of the Moors.

Now the Carolingian heir appears on the scene. He was, you recall, that posthumous child of Louis II the Stutterer who was only five years old when his brother Carloman died and Charles the Fat was invited to the throne. The Church had acquiesced in the election of Eudes as king, but very surely the bishops were not losing sight of the Carolingian boy who might later prove to be very useful to them. A movement now started to supplant Eudes by the boy. That boy, you recall, was called Charles the Simple, and appears to have been less simple than he was called. For reasons it judged good, the Church had Charles consecrated at Reims in 893. This royal boy was then fourteen. He had as supporters, besides certain bishops, the duke of Burgundy and various counts who thought their own interest would be better served by supporting a boy king than by yielding allegiance to the vigorous Eudes. It was already an old dodge to become enthusiastic about the claims of a boy if you thought you could run the boy.

Eudes came to Reims with such forces that Charles and his supporters withdrew to Germany. This gave Eudes time to think the situation over. Though he himself had been consecrated at Compiègne by the archbishop of Sens, he realized that the Church as a whole would be more inclined to support the young representative of the Carolingians than himself. Also the boy, with German support, did some successful

attacking, and won the adherence to his cause of the powerful duke of Lorraine. Eudes decided it would be better to come to an agreement than to fight. So he ceded to Charles the city of Laon with its dependencies, and agreed that upon his own death the crown of France should return to the Carolingian line.

This arrangement had almost immediate results for Charles, for the brave and capable Eudes died soon after it was made. He lived to be only forty. A short life and a strenuous one was the rule among the leaders in those days. Thus Charles the Simple became the uncontested king of France in 898. He was nineteen then. Robert, a brother of Eudes, inherited from him the duchy of France, but made no pretension to the kingship. The new dynasty was lying low for the time being.

Charles the Simple reigned for twenty-five years and had trouble all the time. The most notable feature of his reign was the treaty he made in 911 with Rollo, a famous chief of the Normans. That treaty, the treaty of St-Clair-sur-Epte, created in favor of Rollo and his followers the new duchy of Normandy; it lay between Paris and the sea, and Rouen was its chief city. This cession of rich territory looked at the time like a great loss, but it turned out to be a great gain. Normandy became the richest and most powerful duchy of the kingdom, and, on the whole, loyal to France. The Normans helped greatly in making France what she became. They brought back the strength she had lost through the weakening and dispersal of the Frankish warriors.

Charles, as soon as the Normans had settled down, had his principal trouble with Lorraine, that independent region between France and Germany that belonged to neither, but kept both embroiled. Originally his ally, Lorraine became his enemy. He made an unsuccessful campaign there. To add to his troubles,

he had a favorite named Haganon who was unpopular with the lords. The lords notified Charles that unless he removed Haganon from the court they would depose him. They gave him a reasonable time to do this. Charles insisted on keeping Haganon on the job, and thereby lost his own. In 922 he was deposed and the lords declared for Robert, Duke of France.

In the following year a battle occurred between these rival princes at Soissons. Robert was killed in this battle, but Charles did not gain thereby. Raoul, a son-in-law of Robert and Duke of Burgundy, was chosen to succeed his father-in-law as king. Not much later poor Charles was treacherously taken prisoner and confined in the castle of Péronne. He died there in 929.

Raoul reigned as king of central France for thirteen years, 923-936, but he did not accomplish much. He made expeditions into Aquitaine and Provence and received promises of fealty there, but these promises meant little. He did repulse an invasion of Hungarians into Lorraine and Burgundy.

Upon the death of Raoul, his brother-in-law, Hugh, Duke of France, son of Robert the predecessor of Raoul, was the logical candidate for the crown. But Hugh did not choose to run. This was a surprise to the leaders of his party, but Hugh would not be drafted. He was already called Hugh the Great and was the most powerful lord in the north of France. He decided he was well enough off as he was without the troublesome title of king; let some one else have it. Hugh preferred to be the power behind the throne rather than a figure-head upon it. So strong had the feudal lords become and so weak the king that the kingship did not amount to much any more. The crown had become little more than an uncomfortable ornament that made a crease in the forehead. Any king who tried to be really king was sure to make more enemies than

friends. All he could be was a sort of umpire, and not much consulted at that. The real players of the game were the dukes and important counts, and they were players who would not hesitate to kill an umpire if he displeased them.

Still it was desirable to keep up the old forms. To do that, somebody had to be called king. So Hugh of France, thinking it over, remembered that Charles the Simple had a son. That son was supposed to be somewhere in England, where he had gone for his health about the time his father was locked up in the castle at Péronne; he was nicknamed Overseas Louis, *Louis d'Outre-mer*, for the reason of his success in getting away to England. They sent for him to come and be king.

Louis made a mistake; he came. He made another mistake in taking his kingship seriously. He thought a king ought to have some say-so about his own kingdom. He failed to realize that that idea had gone completely out of style.

Overseas Louis, Louis IV, « reigned » eighteen years, and such a reign! He tried with the aid of a few disgruntled lords to break away from the control of Hugh the Great. For that mistake he and his followers were well beaten in an engagement in the Ardennes. Then he had the idea of winning back Normandy because the duke of Normandy at that time was a child. This was another mistake; it resulted in his being made a prisoner at Rouen. When he got out of prison at Rouen, Hugh put him in again at Chartres. To regain his freedom he had to give up the city of Laon. That city, you remember, was ceded by Eudes to Louis's father. It happened to be the only one that Overseas Louis had left.

After that, all that this kingdomless king could think to do was to ask for help from Germany where descendants of Charlemagne were still held in some re-

spect. This appeal for help from over the Rhine was a final mistake, and one that his father had made before him. It strengthened the feeling of the lords of France against the Carolingians. In 954, when he was thirty-four years old, poor Louis died « as the result of a hunting accident ». It is not reported what he was hunting. Perhaps he was hunting a house. It is not clear that he had any of his own at that time.

Hugh the Great handed on the hoodoo crown to Lothaire, a son of Louis. Lothaire was also a nephew of Hugh, and that was an advantage. Circumstances permitted Lothaire to do something really worth while. In the first place, Uncle Hugh the Great died. His son and heir, who later became Hugh Capet, was a great friend of Lothaire. Lothaire, to cement that useful friendship, transferred to Hugh such claim as he himself had on Burgundy. In the second place, Otto II of Germany made another of those foolish attempts to restore the empire. He invaded France. Lothaire had not made the mistake of his father and grandfather of being too friendly with Germany. On the contrary he rallied the lords of France to him as against Otto, and attacked successfully as far as Aix-la-Chapelle. Otto in his turn penetrated France as far as Paris, but was compelled to make a disastrous retreat. Lothaire died in 986 having made in his thirty-two year reign a pretty good record for a king who was entirely at the mercy of his lords.

Lothaire's son, Louis V, called the *Fainéant* which means lazy, died the next year after his father. He fell off of a horse and that killed him. It is not clear why they called him lazy. He did not reign long enough to prove anything, but he did have the distinction of being the last of the Carolingians to be king in France. After him we come to the Capetians, the first of whom was Lothaire's friend and cousin, Hugh Capet.

The Carolingians, if you omit Louis the Lazy, were good fighters to the end. It was the system that was against them. If they did not go out with glory, their last days were at least more admirable than the last days of the Merovingians.

THE CAROLINGIANS

Pepin the Short, 751-768.
Charlemagne, 768-814.
Louis I the Pious, 814-840.
Charles II the Bald, 840-877.
Louis II the Stammerer, 977-879.
Louis III and Carloman, 879-884.
Charles the Fat, 884-887.
Eudes (Capetian family), 887-898.
Charles III the Simple, 893-923,
Raoul, 923-936.
Louis IV d'Outre-mer, 936-954.
Lothaire, 954-986.
Louis V, 986-987.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE NORMANS AND THEIR SIEGE OF PARIS.

This chapter and the next one are devoted to the early exploits of the redoubtable Normans. They went to New England but did not like it there. Their raids up the rivers of France furnished rare excitement. Many serfs left their jobs and joined the Normans. Paris alone resisted them successfully.

It seems desirable now to look at France from the standpoint of Normandy. Historically, Normandy has a claim to our interest superior to that of any other of the old divisions of France except the Ile-de-France. That claim rests on the fact that she was the great link between France and England. She was so solid a link that it is impossible adequately to relate the history of one without bringing in much of the history of the other. It is difficult to understand the history of either France or England without understanding the history of the other, but it is impossible to understand the history of Normandy without understanding the history of both. She links France with England in an historical partnership that is both indissoluble and illuminating. So now we shall approach Normandy with those hardy pirates who made her Normandy.

Under the Merovingians the future Normandy was part of Neustria and one of the best parts. Thanks to her position, she suffered less from the ravaging barbarians than did the regions east of her. Fewer of them settled on her territory and those who did merged rapidly with the more numerous Gallo-Romans. You will recall that Frédégonde had an affair with Pretextatus, Bishop of Rouen, whose position made him one

of the most influential men in the kingdom. He was not afraid even of Frédégonde, which proves that he was one of the bravest of the brave. It also indicates that the barbarians did not entirely run Rouen. Some of the richest abbeys were near there. Among them were St-Wandrille and Jumièges whose noble ruins are well worth a journey to visit them to-day. The forests of Normandy were favorite hunting grounds of the Merovingian kings.

The Normans came from what is now Norway, Sweden and Denmark. They came first as booty-hunters and finally as home-seekers. They came to find in France a more agreeable place to live than on their own chilly and barren lands. For a long time they made only occasional and seasonal raids to the south. These raids were so successful that they became a habit, and the Franks had no means that served to put an end to them, to say nothing of the meek and lowly Gallo-Romans who were the principal sufferers. Charlemagne saw the Normans near his coasts and realized the menace they held for the future. It is related that he was once at dinner in a maritime southern city when the alarm was given that Norman pirates were at hand in the river. They were driven off, but Charlemagne stood a long time at the window watching their retreat. Tears ran down his cheeks. He said he could foresee the grief that would come from these pirates in the future. If he could have looked a little farther into the future he might have dried his tears. Those Norman pirates were going to replace for France his own Austrasian warriors.

The Normans raided elsewhere, but it was in France they found the richest booty. You will remember that one of them, Lief the Lucky, led his companions as far as New England, but Lief found little to detain him there. When Charlemagne was dead and civil war had begun, the Normans found it easy and pleasant

to row up the rivers of France, looting as they went along. You may see to-day in the valley of the Loire not far from Tours certain old towers on which it is believed that signal fires were lighted to give warning of the approach of the Normans. Churches and abbeys were their specialties to raid. The bishops had been able to make headway with the Teutonic barbarians, but the Normans only laughed at them. They had a religion of their own that they took seriously and seemed to like. That religion made them for a long time contemptuous of any other.

In the monastic writings of that time we read of the complete disorganization of any resistance to the pirates. The Frankish chiefs sacrificed the general interest to their own private quarrels and treachery was frequent. When Charles the Bald was making an expedition against the Normans his own men abandoned him, having been put up to it by his brother, Louis the German. Certain renegade Franks and Gallo-Romans joined in with the Normans and helped them pillage their brothers. Thus Pépin II of Aquitaine joined with them to pillage Poitiers. It is claimed that the great Norman leader Hastings was really a peasant from near Troyes. Another handicap to resistance was the general belief that the Normans were a scourge of God to be accepted with fatality. Resignation was a virtue.

In the treaty of Verdun it was agreed that common cause was to be made against the pirates. Nothing came of it. Two years after that treaty was signed, Ragnar Lodbrog came to Paris with one hundred and twenty boats. The city was taken and the abbeys were pillaged. It is related that one of the Normans fell dead while in the act of stealing sacred vases at St-Germain-des-Prés, but « the punishments of heaven held small terror for the believers in Odin ».

In the reign of Charles the Bald the Saracens in

Provence were imitating the Normans in Neustria. Charles in an edict ordered the construction of certain castles as a means of defense, and these did have an effect. The Normans hesitated about raiding beyond castles they could not capture, but the castles in the

The unexpected resurrection of Hastings in the cathedral at Luna.

end were used as much against the king as against the Normans

The first effective resistance was that led by Robert the Strong, ancestor of the Capetians. After he had defeated several Norman bands, they in turn defeated him through one of their favorite strategies. He surprised some of the Normans of the Loire, or thought he did, and they, feigning retreat, took refuge in a church. Robert thought he had them at his mercy and carelessly took off some of his hot

armor. Then the Normans rushed out and killed him.

Hastings was said to be the chief of the band that killed Robert, but if all the old chronicles of Hastings are to be believed there must have been several of him. One of his exploits was the leadership of an expedition to pillage Rome. When the expedition finally got to what he thought was Rome, Hastings pretended death and had his weeping companions offer all his wealth if he might be buried in the cathedral. His coffin was placed in the choir, but, in the midst of the funeral service, Hastings jumped out of it, struck down the nearest priest, and, with his companions, proceeded to pillage. Only one thing went wrong with this excellent bit of strategy. Hastings picked the wrong city. The scene of his surprising resurrection turned out to be Luna in Tuscany and not Rome. Whether for this exploit or another, Charles the Bald ceded Chartres to this imaginative bandit. There he settled down and was peaceful for a time. Other cessions were made to other Normans along the Loire.

In the year 879 came the great invasion. It was a veritable immigration. This time the Normans brought their wives and children with them. They had come to stay. Under Siegfried they began by ravaging Flanders. They burned Corbie and Amiens. At this point came the resistance of Louis III and Carloman. Louis defeated them near Abbeville, but his death soon after, and that of Carloman as well, opened the way again. In July of 885 Siegfried entered Rouen and passed on up the Seine. He was joined by Hastings and the Normans of the Loire. Twice as they made their way up the Seine, at the mouth of the Eure and again at the mouth of the Andelle, they were delayed by French resistance, but they held to their course, establishing permanent camps on certain islands as they moved leisurely along. In November they reached

Paris. They came in seven hundred boats that carried forty thousand men. Then there began that memorable siege that was to last for more than a year.

When the report came to Paris that the Normans were approaching, everybody hurried in from the outskirts to take refuge behind the walls of the city. The treasures of the suburban churches were brought in, and all was made ready for defense. Count Eudes, son of Robert the Strong, and the Bishop Gozlin were the leaders. The bishop's nephew, Ebles, abbot of St-Germain-des-Prés, was one of the most heroic of the defenders.

Remember that Paris at that time was just that small island on which stands Notre-Dame, just the Ile-de-la-Cité. It was joined to the mainland by two bridges whose entrances were protected by towers at the landward ends. The Grand Pont led to the north; its tower stood on what is now the Place du Chatelet. The Petit Pont led to the Rue St-Jacques; there is still a Petit Pont there.

The Normans, rowing slowly upstream in frosty weather, approached the point of the little boat-shaped island where now stands the statue of Henry of Navarre. Siegfried offered to leave the city unharmed if he was allowed to pass. Paris, remembering the pillage of her suburbs by earlier Norman raiders, spurned this offer. Then the Normans disembarked and went to attack at the tower of the Grand Pont. The garrison of that tower was small, but Eudes had placed his best men there. According to a poetic monk of St-Germain, the abbot Ebles pierced seven Normans with one arrow and a great wheel that was thrown down crushed six others.

After this warm reception the Normans retired and went to build a fortified camp around the church of St-Germain-l'Auxerrois. (This church achieved tragic

renown again when, on August 24, 1572, its bell gave the signal for the massacre of St-Bartholomew). The Normans continued to attack during the next two months, but none of their attacks were successful. They first constructed a movable tower of three stories, « but when they attempted to approach the walls, the Parisians killed with arrows those who pushed it. Then they advanced with battering rams, some under light shields covered with untanned hides to protect them from the arrows; others formed a tortoise with thin shields. Arrived at the edge of the trench, to fill it up they flung in earth, faggots, trees, and even the corpses of prisoners whom they slaughtered before the eyes of the besieged. While the more distant Normans dispersed the defenders of the battlements with a hail of arrows, those nearest the wall shook the tower with battering rams. All these efforts failed. The Parisians poured over them great streams of boiling oil, wax, and liquid pitch. Their catapults hurled enormous stones which smashed through the mantlets and linked shields, or else they lifted those with iron hooks and uncovered the assailants who were instantly riddled with darts. Three fire ships hurled against the bridge were stopped by the piers on which it rested and failed to set it on fire. » (Duruy).

In February of 886 Siegfried, bored by the siege, went off with a group of his followers to raid in the direction of Reims. Soon after his departure the Seine that had so long protected the brave Parisians seemed to turn against them. A sudden flood carried away the Petit Pont. The little garrison that manned the tower on the left bank was isolated. The Normans set fire to the tower and its defenders had to take refuge on the debris of the bridge. There they fought valiantly for a day, surrendering at last on the understanding that their lives would be spared. They were all put to death. Their names are engraved on a marble plaque

that once was set at the head of the Petit Pont; it appears to be gone now.

Other Normans imitated the example of their leader and went on pillaging excursions, but enough of them remained to maintain the siege. Eudes, however, managed to slip through the lines and went to seek

An attack by the Normans upon the walls of Paris.

aid from the emperor, Charles the Fat. The people of Paris were dying of hunger. « Bishop Gozlin and the count of Anjou passed to the Lord. » When help had been assured, Eudes made his way back into the city.

Not until September did the emperor finally appear. His army passed over the heights of Montmartre and drove the enemy from the right bank. Reinforcements were sent into the city, and Charles crossed the river. There, instead of fighting, he negotiated. He had a

grudge against Burgundy and he thought it would be a good plan to let the Normans pass on up the river and ravage that province. He not only invited the Normans to spend the winter in Burgundy; he promised them a good round sum if they would do so.

Siegfried was away at this time, being occupied just then with the sacking of Bayeux. Charles was too nervous to wait for him; he made his offer and withdrew with his army. When Siegfried returned he showed what he thought of Emperor Charles by chasing him and his army as far as Soissons.

What the Parisians thought about the arrangement may be imagined. They refused to have anything to do with it and would not let the Normans pass the bridges. But every Norman boat had a set of rollers in it for just such an emergency. Using these the hardy pirates rolled their boats around by land and proceeded upstream toward a merry winter in Burgundy. They were glad to leave Paris behind and the Parisians were content to see them go. At last they could venture out to seek what food they might find and rebuild their shattered suburbs.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NORMANDY. ITS FIRST THREE DUKES. ROLLO, 911-933, WILLIAM LONGSWORD, 933-942, RICHARD THE FEARLESS, 942-996.

Rollo declines to kiss the king's foot. Royalty is reversed amid roars. Rollo agrees to stop raiding except in Brittany. Normandy blooms again under the Normans. A sensational escape from Laon. Harold Bluetooth comes to aid in time of need and puts the enemy to flight.

The Normans failed to take Paris, but they could not be dislodged from their strong positions to the west and southwest. On certain islands of the Seine, particularly on the island of Oscelle near Rolleboise, they established permanent camps. The Normans of the Seine also held Rouen and Bayeux, and the Normans of the Loire had Tours and Blois.

We have seen how Eudes, become king, defeated the Normans at Montfaucon, but they were now in widely scattered bands. He could not strike a decisive blow. When Charles the Simple came to power he was confronted with the impossibility of driving the Normans out of France. Historians are charged with having been too severe in their criticisms of this Charles. As it turned out, his cession of Normandy was an act of wisdom and political sense.

The life of Rollo, to whom the cession of Normandy was made, is obscure, but there seems to be no doubt that he was a big man. For one thing, he was so big no horse of his country could carry him. When the others rode on the raids, he stalked along. He was

the son of a Scandinavian chief, but he had no heritage.

In the spring of 911, Rollo led his men to a new attack on Paris. It was unsuccessful. Returning down the Seine, he left his boats at Jeufosse near Rolleboise where they were protected by the camp on the island of Oscelle. Ascending the old trail that rises there from the river, he led his men toward Chartres. The bishop of Chartres, having news of Rollo's advance, appealed for help. Robert, Count of Paris and Duke of France, hastened to Chartres. So also did the duke of Burgundy and the count of Poitiers. The people of Chartres, emboldened by the approach of help, marched out from behind their walls to attack. They were led by their bishop who carried a tunic of the Virgin that had been presented to the cathedral by Charles the Bald. The tunic is still preserved among the treasures of the cathedral. The Normans, threatened with being surrounded, retreated. For once they were followed and attacked by superior forces. In the retreat of July 20, 911, they lost nearly seven thousand men.

This defeat of the Normans before Chartres had great and unforeseen consequences. It put them for the first time in a frame of mind not only to make a treaty, but to respect it. Charles took advantage of this fortunate opportunity. Guy Witton, Archbishop of Rouen, began the negotiations. Of course the first step was to persuade Rollo to agree to be baptized as a child of the Church. Robert of Paris offered to stand godfather. Rollo consented. He saw the desirability of being at peace with his neighbors and having an undisputed title to the fine lands he already held. So he agreed to meet and confer with King Charles. They met at St-Clair-sur-Epte, a village that lies between Gisors and Vernon. The Epte is a small but very historic stream. It forms, north of the Seine,

the eastern boundary of Normandy, dividing that fertile region known as the French Vexin from the equally fertile Vexin of Normandy.

The exact date of the meeting at St-Clair-sur-Epte is unknown, but it must have been in the autumn of 911. In December of that year it is known that Charles was in Lorraine. The preliminaries had been arranged by the archbishop of Rouen and the count of Paris. There is no written record of the treaty of St-Clair. Perhaps it never was written. The Normans could not have read it if it had been, and would have been the more mistrustful on that account. As it was, they clearly understood that certain cities and territory were to be ceded to Rollo, and that he agreed to be baptized and to do homage to Charles as king.

When it came to the homage part, there was a slight irregularity. The rules of the ceremony called for Rollo to kneel before the king, gently to lift his foot, and to kiss it. Rollo balked at the foot-kissing. He delegated one of his warriors to do it for him. There was nothing gentle about the delegate. He jerked up Charles's foot so violently that the king, not having his throne with him, fell over on his back. It is reported that everybody, except perhaps the bishop, burst into hearty guffaws. It was an incident that broke the ice. It was fortunate that the Franks and the Normans had similar senses of humor. They rarely took themselves too seriously. It was only the Church that took itself seriously, and even some bishops were glad to lend a hand occasionally at the merry making.

Rouen, Evreux, Lisieux, Bayeux, and St-Lô were among the cities ceded to Rollo. He and his followers agreed to cease their raids and bar the Seine to new invaders, but they reserved the right to raid in Brittany. That was all right with Charles. Brittany

was independent of him anyhow. The arrangement was much like those the Romans made in earlier days with barbarians at their frontiers. Now the Normans had the former role of the Franks, and the Franks the role of the Romans.

Rollo was baptized as Robert. Most of his companions followed his example, though not immediately. He did not control all the Normans who were resident in Normandy. That part of Normandy that touches the Atlantic and ends in a peninsula at whose top Cherbourg lies, is called the Cotentin. The Normans of the Cotentin were quite independent of Rollo. It is in the Cotentin that the Norman type has been to this day best preserved. It was there, a century and a half later, that William of Normandy recruited many of his most enthusiastic followers for a certain successful raid on England. Today some of the most aristocratic families of England have names that recur in villages of the Cotentin.

The conversion of Rollo to Christianity was a conversion of political expediency. He continued to make sacrifices to his ancient gods, but at the same time he made generous presents to churches and abbeys. In view of his princely liberality, his orthodoxy was not challenged. He divided the land with his comrades, keeping the lion's share. He established peace in Normandy. That was all he had to do to insure repopulation of this depopulated land. Normandy's reputation for peace and order spread abroad and people poured in from the much less peaceful regions that surrounded it. The Normans showed an amazing aptitude for their new role as masters of land. They adopted the language of the country and interested themselves in its agricultural development. New settlements were started by them and the Scandinavian names they gave to those settlements remain today as the names of many towns in Normandy.

Thus Yvetot, *tot* meaning settlement. *Dieppe* means deep. *Dal* means dale; we have Darnetal and Becdal. *Bec* means brook; Caudebec is the best known of the becs. *Fleur* means fleet; hence Barfleur, Honfleur, and Harfleur. Elbeuf and Quillebeuf come from *beuf* that means dwelling.

Rollo, once a leader of robbers, but now the first duke of Normandy, was particularly keen on the suppression of robbery. So pitiless were the laws that punished it and so thoroughly were they executed that it was said that in this country of reformed robbers it was no longer necessary to guard the herds or to lock up the houses. Potential robbers had small chance or inclination to run the risks of robbery; they were in the presence of experts in that business. The story is told that a bracelet of Rollo's hung for three years unguarded on a tree in a forest near Rouen and no one dared to touch it. Normandy soon became the most prosperous province of France, though none of them were very prosperous in the modern sense. The abbeys became particularly enriched. Two bishops of Rouen were relatives of Rollo.

The Normans, though now men of order and of property, retained their old taste for distant and profitable expeditions. They played a role of advance guard in spreading the fame and power of France far beyond her boundaries. They spread the French language and civilization in Sicily, in England, and on the Crusades. The establishment of the Normans in Normandy was undoubtedly one of the most fortunate events in the history of France. It marked the end of barbaric invasions and the beginning of expansion.

Rollo profited from the rivalries that kept the dukes of France embroiled among themselves and with their king. He took no part in the revolts against Charles the Simple. When, in 923, Charles was attacked by

Robert of Paris, Rollo kept out of the coalition that had been formed against the king. Nor did the Normans recognize Raoul of Burgundy as king when he succeeded Robert. But when Charles was finally imprisoned at Péronne and there was no more chance of his returning to power, they did make a treaty with Raoul by which they received increases in their territory. Then when Rollo died in 933 and his son William Longsword succeeded him, William swore fidelity to Raoul on the condition of receiving the Cotentin and the country around Avranches that had previously been ceded to the duke of Brittany. Thus Normandy came to its full stature toward the west. It ended at Mont-St-Michel, where Brittany begins.

William Longsword married the daughter of the count of Vermandois and married his sister to the count of Poitou. The county of Vermandois was on the edge of Flanders, while that of Poitou lay around Poitiers. Thus the house of Normandy began what became its complete entrance into the system of blood kinships between rival houses that was so important a feature of the Feudal Ages.

William was pacific and religious. He rebuilt Jumièges and contemplated entering there as a monk. He was treacherously assassinated in 942 by men of his enemy the count of Flanders whom he had gone to interview on an island in the Somme. He was buried in the cathedral at Rouen beside his father.

The new duke, Richard called the Fearless, was only eight years old when his father was killed. You will recall that it was at this time that Louis d'Outremer, who had been on good terms with William Longsword, thought it would be well to try to get Normandy back for himself. Feigning friendship, he had his young vassal Richard brought to his castle at Laon as was his feudal right; a suzerain was supposed

to protect his fatherless minor vassals during their minority. Having the young duke in his power, King Louis proposed to Hugh the Great, Duke of France, that they conquer Normandy and divide it between them. He promised Bayeux to Hugh if Hugh could take it. Hugh foolishly besieged that city. It was then that Bernard the Dane, one of the few surviving companions-in-arms of Rollo, showed himself to be an old fox. As spokesman of the Normans, he declared that they preferred for master the king of France to the duke of France. This had precisely the effect Bernard wanted it to have. Louis, thinking he could now have all of Normandy without sharing any of it with Hugh, went back on his agreement as to Bayeux. Hugh left Bayeux, swearing to be revenged on the king, which he soon was.

Meanwhile the Normans received needed reinforcements. They had appealed for help to Harold Bluetooth, King of Denmark. A fleet of the Danes entered the mouth of the Dives, the point from which later William the Conqueror set out for England. So Louis, when he came to Normandy, got a warm reception, but the warmth of it was of quite a different kind from what he expected. Instead of finding a submissive country to rule, he found new invaders to repel. A battle occurred in the marshy plain of Varaville and Louis was taken prisoner.

While this was going on, young Richard had a thrilling escape from the castle at Laon. There at the castle with him was his tutor, Osmond de Centvilles, Count of Vernon. One day at dusk, when vigilance was relaxed, Osmond bundled up the boy in straw, and got by the guards on the pretext that he was going out to make a bed for his horse. All that night he rode through enemy country with the boy in his arms. At last they safely crossed the Epte and were among friends.

King Louis was released by the Normans only upon leaving two of his sons as hostages. But he got out of the frying pan at Rouen only to fall into the fire at Chartres; he was seized by Hugh of France and held for a year in prison there. It was then that he had to give up his last city, Laon, in order to regain his freedom.

The dukes of France and Normandy, both having had the best of the king, were now on excellent terms with each other. Hugh proposed to marry his daughter to the young Richard. About that time Louis, in the train of Otto of Germany and the count of Flanders, came again to Rouen from the north. They started a siege, but it did not last long. They did not trust each other, and one fine night they all decamped. There was probably a rumor that old Harold Bluetooth was coming back. Later on, after the deaths of both Louis and Hugh, Richard of Normandy did marry the daughter of Hugh, and this alliance between the two most powerful of the feudal houses sealed the fate of the Carolingian dynasty.

In 962 the count of Chartres, in connivance with the new king Lothaire, invaded Normandy and took Evreux. Rouen was threatened. Again the Normans of the north came to help. They took again the old road from the Seine to Chartres. The country was ravaged as in the old invasions and the booty auctioned at Jeufosse. The count of Chartres sued for peace and restored Evreux. Some of the new invaders were baptized and received lands.

The end of the long reign of Richard the Fearless was calm. The establishment of the new Capetian dynasty did not trouble Normandy whose duke was allied by marriage to the new royal family. It was to Richard of Normandy that Hugh the Great in dying had entrusted his young son, Hugh Capet, who was proclaimed king of France in 987. Richard died

at the abbey of Fécamp in 1026. The monks in their chronicles expended themselves in eulogies and fabulous anecdotes about him. He was very generous to the Church. He built the original cathedral of Rouen and the abbeys of Fécamp and Mont-St-Michel owed much to him. At his court troubadours, musicians, and all men of merit were welcomed. His coffin, prepared long before his death, was filled each day with wheat for the poor. He asked to be buried outside the church, under the caves.

Rollo, Richard Longsword, and Richard the Fearless, the first three dukes of Normandy, were all able men and hard workers. They greatly strengthened their little state. There was much more unity in Normandy than in France because all the Norman nobles were on direct terms with the duke without any of the business of intermediaries which was usually such a handicap in the feudal system. In this, Normandy set an example that was later followed by the kings of France. The religious orders in Normandy were also directly under the control of the duke. He selected the personnel for the bishoprics and the abbeys.

A Burgundian monk wrote that Normandy was « like a great family; he who sold too dear or misrepresented quality was considered a thief, and anyone could make direct appeal to the justice of the duke ». The duke was the head of a turbulent but loyal family. Much in Normandy in those early days is reminiscent of the days and the court of Charlemagne.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

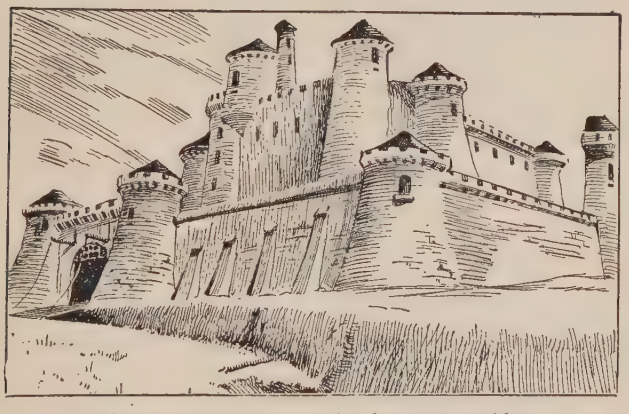
THE SETTING OF THE STAGE FOR THE FEUDAL AGES.

A boom in the building trades. Castles go up and the king comes down. The common people take to the woods. Great skill develops in piling rock. Feudalism was a good thing at first; it was better to be a vassal than a victim. Castles dot countryside. In the towns, the ladies now come to the windows. The strewer of rushes resigns. Nothing stops the progress of the Church.

Leaving Normandy for awhile, we return to consideration of France as a whole. The year 1000 now approaches. Some historians state that that year was approached with much fear and trembling on account of a belief that the world was then to come to an end. Later research into ancient documents appears to indicate that the extent of this belief has been exaggerated. However that may be, if the world had ended in the year 1000 it would not have been much of a world to boast about so far as human progress is concerned.

Important changes had occured between the time Pépin the Short was crowned in 751 and the time Louis the Lazy fell off his horse and was killed in 987, but, apart from the great work of Charlemagne, these changes were little if any for the better. The Carolingian dynasty endured two hundred and forty-six years as against two hundred and seventy for the Merovingian, and it left France little better than it found it. It was only the Capetian dynasty, now about to arise, that witnessed the real making of France.

In Chapter Nine we considered the conditions of residences in the towns and the country toward the end of the Merovingians, and we found that there was little physical comfort in them as judged by modern standards. There were some improvements under the Carolingians. Particularly the towns improved; especially they improved their fortifications. The coming of the Normans had to do with that. Also, many castles appeared in the countryside. The new



« Many castles appeared in the countryside ».

hereditary counts and barons dug themselves in. They prepared to defend against all comers the lands and rights granted to them by a short-sighted king.

If there hadn't been any castles there couldn't have been any Feudal Ages, and if there hadn't been any Feudal Ages your visit to France would be less interesting. There is something about the ruins of the old castles of France that adds charm to the landscape. Go to see them and you can, at least some can, get back on a mental excursion among the knights in shining armor; in armor bright enough to shine some, but usually tarnished in spots.

A king authorized the building of the castles, but later kings had reason bitterly to regret their existence. Until artillery finally came into play, the castles were practically impregnable to everything except treachery and starvation. The Normans were the cause of the sudden interest of the French in more and better fortifications, so, whatever they destroyed, they compensated for in a measure by being the cause of this boom in the building trades. They compelled the French to practice under pressure the art of piling rock to such extent that they may be rated among the greatest rock pilers of all time. The Feudal Ages might have come on as they did without the Normans, but the presence of these marauders throughout the land certainly stimulated the building of those strong walls behind which feudal lords could usually laugh at all who sought to overthrow them. A paragraph from Duruy illustrates this situation.

« The dukes and counts were all as powerless as the king against the Normans and Saracens, and the people whom the king had failed to unite in common endeavor gradually fell into the habit of depending on themselves. After fleeing for long at the approach of the pagans into the woods among the fallow deer, a few stout-hearted men turned and refused to abandon all their possessions without trying to defend them. Here and there in mountain passes, at fording places in rivers, on the hill which overlooked the plain, entrenchments and ramparts were built which the brave and strong defended. According to an edict of 862, the counts and vassals of the king were ordered to repair the old castles and to build new ones. The country was soon covered with them and the invaders hurled themselves in vain against new strongholds. Some defeats served to temper their daring with prudence; they dared not venture so far into the midst of these fortresses which sprang up on all sides, and new invasions, thus ren-

dered hazardous and difficult, ceased in the following century with the cession of Normandy. The lords of these castles were later the terror of the countryside, but they had in the first place been its saviors. Feudalism, so oppressive in its decadence, then served a

« The great open spaces were very thinly populated indeed. » Most of the countryside was abandoned to the wolves, such was the fear of the Normans.

useful purpose. All power was established by rightful use, but overthrown by abuse. »

Under these conditions it is evident that anything like national feeling could not exist. Horizons became limited. Each fortified city or castle became perforce sufficient unto itself and was little concerned with what might be going on elsewhere. Rouen and Paris had problems of their own. What happened in Saintes or Bordeaux touched them not at all. It was

a time when France seemed to shrink within itself; a time when the world grew smaller to all those in France except the Normans and the Saracens. Their horizons knew no bounds. The Normans were everywhere.

It is also evident that the life of those, if any, who resided out in the open countryside was no less rude and perilous than it had been in Merovingian days. Anything like regular farms were out of the question. Tended fields and gardens and pastures lay not far beyond castle and abbey and city walls, but you can see the tenders of those fields and gardens and flocks and herds working very nervously at their jobs, ready to drop everything and scuttle to safety at the first alarm. More than one flock-tender fell, skewered by hostile arrows, as he sprinted toward safety that he never reached. Then there were the great open spaces, and these must have been very thinly populated indeed. Life there must have been a good deal like the life of prehistoric man, plus the presence of fugitives from justice, escaped serfs, and bands of robbers. To the Normans belonged the role of the old sabre-toothed tiger. In those days you had to go only a little way beyond the walls to be sure of meeting with adventure.

The Normans did not have a complete monopoly of the business of raiding. After they settled down and became good citizens in Normandy, their bad habits lived after them elsewhere. You will recall that they were joined in their merry and companionable life as freebooters by many of the « disaffected » in the lands they pillaged. Disaffection must have been quite a common state of mind under the existing conditions. Joining the Normans may have been like running away to join the circus on the part of a boy who has had a tough life at home. Also, the little lords and barons, as soon as they had good castles

into which to retreat, began raiding each other and the countryside as well. Life must have been deadly dull within the castle walls at times. The signal to start on a raid may have been as welcome as the first ball game of the season. There was no trouble about finding excuses for these raids on your neighbors. Any little thing can be turned into a deadly insult when you are really looking for a fight, or for booty.

So much for the castles and the countryside. The cities, since about the time Charlemagne was crowned emperor at Rome, had taken a turn for the better. They grew. They grew both as to their fortifications and as to the houses within these fortifications. Acute housing problems developed. Having girdled themselves with walls, the cities had to grow up instead of out. A present problem of New York City had, you see, its medieval counterpart. Every foot of space within the walls had to be accounted for, which left no park system, nor any boulevards. It is easy to see why the streets in those walled cities were so narrow. They became picturesque because they had to. They were squeezed into it. The open spaces that existed in the Gallo-Roman cities no longer were there. Even interior courts were suppressed. The cities became warrens.

Another reason is given for the suppression of interior courts. That suppression is reported to have been a by-product of Christianity. In earlier days the inner courts formed the limited domain of the women. Now, with the new religion, they were permitted to come to the front of the house and look out of the windows, and they showed no reluctance to avail themselves of this new privilege, but, unfortunately for the ladies, the windows were extremely narrow and there was no glass. Whenever it rained hard the wooden shutters had to be shut. Then they sat glumly around a smoky lamp or a torch.

The art of interior decoration showed activity if not progress. Mural decorations were done by artists who usually had more good will than talent. Their favorite subjects were biblical episodes. Wood-carving and tapestry were yet to appear. Rugs that the Gallo-Romans had were much too dear now. The road to the rug-producing countries was too unhealthy for traders; home industries had no cause to complain of outside competition. As to the dirt floors, the common thing was simply to cover them with dried rushes. The successors of Charlemagne had a functionary at their courts known as the strewer of rushes. The strewing was all right, but when it came to spring house-cleaning, and the rushes simply had to be changed from the bottom up, it is believed that the strewer often resigned. The fragrance of flowers on the table struggled feebly with the exhalations that came from among the rushes.

As to furniture, the principal change was that the great wooden chest of the Merovingians now began to be replaced by vertical *armoires*. The word *armoire* still names an article of furniture in universal use in France. No bedroom is complete without one. It is a clothes-container, a substitute for the American closet. But its original function was to furnish a handy place for the swords and battle axes.

Charlemagne did much to revive industry and commerce, and, long after his time, the trade routes he opened were used, especially between France and Germany. But in feudal times there was a relapse. Conditions were not favorable then for the establishment of anything like chain stores. Chain armor, however, did make its appearance.

Artists and skilled architects had practically disappeared in early Carolingian days. When Charlemagne wanted to fix up one of his places on the Rhine, he brought a hundred columns of marble and porphyry

from Rome and mosaics from Ravenna. This situation changed. The convents began to produce artists. The capitals of new pillars began to show something other than their classical decorations of acanthus leaves. Geometric designs and animals appeared in the stone carvings. The art of the Middle Ages was in its formation.

The first stories of the houses were of masonry, but the upper ones were nearly always of wood. There were some terrible fires.

During all the vicissitudes of the latter part of the Carolingian period it must not be imagined that the Church diminished in strength. On the contrary, it grew. The Normans sacked many churches and abbeys, but they took off only movable property. Nothing happened to disturb the title of the Church to its real and immovable property, and its control of political affairs became more certain than ever. True to its tradition, the Church throve on trouble. Anxious souls kept up their gifts and the great men of the land sought Church offices. So the Church grew both in strength of personnel and in extent of property.

During the thirty-four years of the reign of Charles the Bald, fifty-six ecclesiastical councils were held in France. Those councils, more than the king, determined what happened. The right of the Church to depose kings or crown them was fully recognized. We have seen how the Church deposed and then restored again Louis the Pious, and how his sons came to the bishops for orders after the battle of Fontanet.

« It was fortunate », writes Duruy, « that the Church was so powerful in such a period, for, when all was yielded to the strongest, she reminded men that justice should reign over strength; to the aristocratic principle of feudal organization she opposed the principle of

the brotherhood of men. In place of hereditary right and primogeniture, which prevailed in civil society, she adopted herself the elective idea and proclaimed the rights of the intellect. If the prerogative of deposing kings, which she claimed, was an usurpation of civil authority, it must be remembered that the latter had no counterpoise but the power of the bishops, and the weak and oppressed had no other guarantee save the protection of the Church. »

CHAPTER TWENTY

SOMETHING ABOUT THE FEUDAL AGES

The kings lay low. This chapter explains why they had to. Certain edicts please the lords. They gather vassals unto themselves. The ritual of homage. Strange ceremonies appear. The monks drive a goose at Rouen. At Cressanges the tax-payers make faces at strangers. The bored lords make private wars.

The house of Capet that now rose to rule for nearly eight hundred years was confronted at the outset by conditions radically different from those that had confronted the first Carolingians or any of the Merovingians. We have seen how the final Carolingians, though fighters to the end, became reduced in power until the last of them, for all the royal power he had, might as well have been that last Merovingian who faded away in a convent.

Now with the transfer of the kingship to Hugh Capet, Duke of France, the crown improved its situation importantly as to property and thereby somewhat as to prestige. The new king could expect to have his orders respected at least in his own duchy. Besides that, his own brother was duke of Burgundy and his sister had married the duke of Normandy. Family kinships of rival rulers may have small effect in restraining hostilities; they may even engender them. Yet, at the outset, for Hugh Capet, it was undoubtedly an advantage to be linked by family ties to the powerful houses of Normandy and of Burgundy. However, despite such elements of strength, for Hugh and for several of his successors the kingship was a delicate business.

If they were respected, it was as powerful dukes rather than as weak kings. They might be recognized by other dukes as suzerain, but that was chiefly for the sake of keeping up a system in which the dukes themselves were suzerains. The king's suzerainty meant simply the titular headship of the feudal hierarchy. It was a sort of nominal presidency of a highly organized fraternity in whose ritual was contained the occasional business of kissing the foot of the chief of the order.

The house of Capet might well have blazoned on its escutcheon the device, « We watch our step ». We shall see how well they watched it during the next few generations. It may seem that they did but little as kings, but to do little was for a long time the wise thing to do ; had they tried to do more they might have accomplished less. They probably would have ceased to be kings. Their success lay in keeping powerful rivals from jealousy. They allayed for the time being any fears of an attempt to return to the old system of centralized power. They kept the kingship alive by persuading the nobility of its complaisance. No rival duke would start a risky war to win a title that meant so little. Only by this course was the tradition of royalty kept alive in France against that day when it came into its own again and greatly served the people. An aggressive policy by the first of the Capetians would surely have resulted in the complete dismemberment of France.

Before going on with the account of Hugh Capet and his successors, let us have a look at the beginnings of this system in which they found themselves enmeshed. It was a product of perfectly natural evolution. It was in no sense a previously planned or superimposed system. The Church profited by it, but the Church did not institute it. The Church generally recognized the wisdom of working with nature and not against it. So,

in the case of the feudal system, she simply trimmed ship to sail with the prevailing winds.

In its legal aspect, however, the feudal system did rest upon certain royal edicts as foundation. There was the edict of Mersen issued by Charles the Bald in 837. It provided, « that every free man should be allowed to choose a lord, either the king or one of his vassals, and that no vassal of the king should be obliged to follow him except against a foreign enemy ». This edict did little more than describe a condition that had already developed, but it legalized that condition. In the anarchy that prevailed at the time of the edict of Mersen, « free men » had practically disappeared. Isolation was too perilous. The free men had voluntarily become vassals of those strong enough to protect them. Also, for various reasons, it was generally more attractive to become the vassal of some other lord than the vassal of the king himself. The other lords were probably in a position to make more attractive offers. In any case, it followed after the edict of Mersen that the lords got more vassals and the king fewer.

By this same edict the king also practically admitted that the only right he had left over the lords was the right to call upon them to follow him to foreign wars. Already, through lack of any power that prevented it, the lords had become their own government upon their own lands.

Then there came the edict of Kiersy-sur-Oise in 877. That one recognized hereditary right « in all fiefs and offices ». There is a claim that this edict was to run only « during the king's absence », but when the Carolingian kings became permanently absent it had permanent effect. From then on the only legal way in which the crown could regain the lands yielded by it was by purchase or by failure of inheritance. The provision as to failure of inheritance was important for the future of the house of France. Henceforward

one of the king's most important occupations was to keep a weather eye open for chances for lands to « revert to the crown » through lack of an incontestable heir, and to see that they did so revert.

We have already considered in Chapter Nine how the original dividing up of the land occurred among the Merovingian warriors. The haughty and aristocratic families of the lords of the Feudal Ages were directly descended from those extremely rough barbarians who came out of the German forests. The troubled conditions of the times required that in actual settlement of the land groups formed around strong leaders rather than that each family went off by itself. Herein we have the fundamental fact that led to the feudal system. If the king's government had been strong enough to insure peaceful proprietorship to individual proprietors, there would have been no Feudal Ages. But it was only under Charlemagne that anything like such a condition was obtained.

In those early days there were no definitely recorded titles to land, and there were various kinds of rights by which it was held, the most important one being the right of might. Among these various kinds of rights, however, the one that had the most to do with the formation of the feudal system was the right of lords to lands granted to them by the crown as fiefs. These fiefs were given as recompense for services rendered, usually in war, and were handed out with a recklessness of the future born of victory at the time. Originally these grants were good only for the lifetime of the beneficiary. The beneficiary also received important exemptions from duties to the crown and the right to rule as he liked within his fief. At his death the fief was supposed to revert to the royal domain. We have seen, however, that later they became hereditary.

Minor grants of land were made to minor warriors.

In the troubled times that came later these minor gentlemen saw the advantage of allying themselves intimately with the major ones. Thus the minor tracts became merged with the major tracts when the minor proprietors recognized the suzerainty of majors, and received assurances thereby of much appreciated protection.

In connection with the kaleidoscopic changes that

The ceremony of homage.

took place in the map of France in feudal times, elaborate ceremonies developed. Thus, when a free man sought to become the vassal of a lord, he had to perform a ritual of homage to that lord. Coming into the presence of his chosen lord, he took off belt, sword, and spurs, and then knelt before him. He placed his hands in the hands of the lord and said, « I become your man from this day on. Frankly and loyally will I keep all these engagements I now make with you. » The prospective vassal then took a mighty oath upon

the Bible or upon whatever sacred bones of a saint might be at hand. All this did not mean that he was entering into anything like slavery. It meant chiefly that he and his new lord undertook thereafter to do their fighting together as against outsiders. The lord was under just as much obligation to protect the vassal as the vassal to protect the lord.

The ceremony of homage was followed by the ceremony of investiture. The new vassal, by virtue of his investiture, thereby became, under his lord, the holder of certain lands, lands which may have been previously his own or not. A part of the ceremony of investiture consisted in the lord handing to the vassal a piece of sod, a handful of earth, and the branch of a tree. These were symbols of the fief conceded to him.

This lord-and-vassal process went on until, theoretically, there were no free men left except the king himself, and he was only as free in fact as the lords let him be. He was king at their good pleasure. Every noble was the vassal of some other noble, his suzerain, the highest nobles being vassals only of the king, their suzerain.

Entirely outside and beneath this social hierarchy of the nobility there were the serfs. The serfs were not exactly slaves, but nearly so. They went with the land. They were protected, but at the same time governed and exploited, by the lord of whatever castle they were in the habit of running to.

The cities and their dependent lands outside the walls came to be called *communes*. In some cases they were strong enough to have a little local democracy in the municipal government, but usually they were the fiefs of a bishop, and if there was any democracy it was because the bishop permitted it. For the bishops, you may be sure, were part and parcel of the system. They had their dependent fighting men like the lords.

The abbeys were the principal proprietors of the ecclesiastical fiefs. Often the head of an abbey was himself a lay lord. Thus Hugh of France when he became king was already the head of more than one abbey.

The principal lords had all the rights of government within their domains. They imposed their own taxes, administered their own justice, and coined their own money. There were at one time over fifty lords who had this right of coining their own money, and certainly there were more than fifty different ways of collecting revenue.

In that connection certain peculiar local customs developed. The lords monopolized the milling and baking businesses. All grain had to be ground in their mills and all bread baked in their ovens. But at Rouen the monks of St-Ouen were allowed to do their own baking on condition that once each year they would march in solemn procession to the city bakery driving before them a goose bridled and bedecked with ribbons. In certain places a new vassal was required to present his suzerain with « a lark tied to an ox-cart ». It is presumed that the cattle went with the cart. At Cressanges the tax payers had to pay a fine if on the last Tuesday of March they uttered a word from sunrise to sunset. If a stranger spoke to them they were to make a face at him. One lord required that on a certain day all his vassals should come and make funny faces for his amusement. He evidently missed the movies.

One of the most important features of the Feudal Ages was the privilege the lords enjoyed of having private wars. A lord had perfect right to round up his vassals at any time and start off on a campaign against some other lord, or even against the king himself. He also had the right to appeal to the king's justice if he had a grievance against another lord and wanted to bring it into court. However, the general preference

seemed to be in favor of keeping cases out of court and settling them with the good old battle axes. So there were many interesting but brief little wars, brief because in the private wars the vassals were usually required to serve only forty days.

Although a great deal of fighting went on in feudal days, the casualties were not heavy. Surprisingly few were killed in the battles. For one reason, protective armor was developed to the point that nobles went into battle dressed up like kitchen stoves. They were fairly safe unless they fell down. For another reason, even more important, the formal fighting was confined to the nobles. The common people in the towns and in the country were not considered fit to be invited to the battles. Fighting was an aristocratic privilege. The common herd must have had many a good laugh out of that.

There were many other notable features of the Feudal Ages such as knighthood, chivalry, tournaments, and the truce of God, but they came later. They had not yet arrived on the sufficiently complicated scene that confronted Hugh Capet to whom we now return.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

THE FIRST FOUR CAPETIANS, 987-1108. ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-ONE YEARS.

How the Plantagenets and the Capetians acquired their high-sounding names. How Hugh became king and how he kept the job. Pious Robert and his domestic difficulties. Imperious Constance and her gay playmates. New fashions appeared in Paris and a monk objected. Some heretics were burned and terrible famines occured. Henry got help from the Devil, Robert of Normandy. Philip stole a wife, but otherwise he and Henry tried to keep out of trouble.

Hugh Capet, 987-996.	9 years.
Robert the Pious, 996-1031.	35 years.
Henry I, 1031-1060.	29 years.
Philip I, 1060-1108.	48 years.

Names since become historic were still in the process of formation in those days. The process of forming them was completely informal. Kings and dynasties acquired nicknames just as boys acquire them at school, which suggests that the king was not far from being one of the boys. Certainly Hugh Capet was one of them.

Plantagenet is a noble name. The very word has a regal and majestic sound. Perhaps you recall the surprise with which you learned that this high-sounding name comes from the homely fact that the father of the first of the Plantagenet kings, a Frenchman of the Loire valley, had a trick of sticking a bit of gorse in his cap. The French for gorse is *genêt,* so they called that first Plantagenet a gorse plant, little thinking they were thereby naming a dynasty.

The Capetians got their name in similar manner. Hugh of France, when he was elected king, was also abbot of St-Martin at Tours and of St-Denis and St-Germain-des-Prés near Paris; this beside being duke of France and count of Paris and of Orléans. They did not hesitate about piling up the titles and offices. That gave the heralds something to do. Hugh, perhaps for reasons of policy, had a habit of wearing a *chape*. The chape was an ecclesiastical garment, a sort of hooded cape, that, as abbot, he was entitled to wear. Perhaps he took cold in armor, and the chape was undoubtedly comfortable, especially around the back of the neck on cold and windy days afield. It was from Hugh's chape-wearing habit that came the name of Capet, and the long line of his successors came thus to be called Capetians.

It was at Senlis (pronounce the *s* at each end) that Hugh was elected king After the death of the last Carolingian of the direct line. Hugh, escorted by his brother of Burgundy and his brother-in-law of Normandy, went to Senlis. There they met by appointment with many of the principal lords and bishops of France. This assembly declared for Hugh as king. The only other candidate was Charles, Duke of Lorraine, an uncle of Louis V. Charles had legitimate claim to the throne if the Carolingian dynasty was to be respected. It was not. Charles was rejected on the ground that he was too pro-German. Besides that, they didn't want him anyhow. He made some trouble afterwards, but ended by being suppressed.

The dukes of France were determined to have one of their own crowd for king if they had any. They preferred to have nothing to do with a half-German Carolingian who, like some of his predecessors, would probably have his attention diverted from domestic affairs by his interest in re-establishing the empire. So they elected Hugh, who was one of their own gang. In

doing so they went on the same principle that, much later, guided certain senators when they managed to have one of their own gang elected president. They thought they could manage him. But Hugh was no Harding. At least he had a better eye for the future.

It was a long road the Capetians had to follow before a king in France could become a real king. Hugh was even farther away from royal power when he was elected than the boy Clovis was when he was lifted up on the shields of the Salian Franks. The whole business of building up the royal power had to be done over again, and under conditions less favorable than before.

The counts of Flanders, Vermandois, Troyes, Poitiers, and Toulouse were conspicuous in the assembly at Senlis by their absence. Evidently they were sore about something. « As a matter of principle », they declared in favor of Charles of Lorraine, but the half-hearted way in which they supported Charles proved that they were ready to get on the band-wagon if given proper consideration. A small war with Charles and his backers dragged on over two years. Finally he was taken prisoner and locked up at Orléans where he died soon after.

Hugh owed much to the Church for his success in this first part of his reign, and particulary to the support of the archbishop of Reims. He did not underestimate the importance of keeping the Church in his favor, and much of his policy was determined by that consideration. Yet it is recorded that, « he maintained a certain independence of the ecclesiastical feodality ». He knew that the pope inclined away from him and toward Carolingian restoration, and yet he did not propose to put himself completely under the orders of the Church even to placate the pope. At that time the whole region east of France, from Germany down into Italy, had come to be known as the Empire, the Holy Roman Empire. It wasn't holy, it wasn't Roman, it

wasn't even an empire, but that was the name it had. The pope, whose successors had great trouble with the empire later on, was at that time its friend. It was a question whether Lorraine, and even Burgundy to the south of it, should be considered parts of the empire or parts of France. Hugh solved this problem, conciliated the pope, and obtained the support of Germany by ceding all claims of suzerainty over Lorraine.

Hugh inherited rights of suzerainty over the duchy of Burgundy and he married Adelaide of Aquitaine. His position as king was much stronger than that of the last Carolingians who had no domains at all, but he was still weaker than some of his own vassals. The dukes of Normandy and Guyenne and the counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse were reckoned to be more powerful princes than he. Even within the confines of his own duchy there were minor lords and barons who did not take this new king seriously. They ran their own lands as they liked, and sometimes in strong castles they defied the king, their own duke.

Hugh showed admirable tact in these trying circumstances. His art was an art of restraint, the useful art of knowing when to leave well enough alone even if it is none too good. He was handicapped by no foolish ambitions. He made just one campaign south of the Loire. In that campaign he compelled the rebellious count of Poitiers to render homage, but this count was himself defeated soon after by Adelbert, an upstart count of Perigord. Adelbert pushed on to besiege Tours. Hugh ordered him to retire, and sent in his message the inquiry, « Who made you count? ». Adelbert's haughty reply to Hugh was, « Who made you king? ».

Hugh decided it would be better not to insist on homage from any lords south of the Loire who challenged his credentials. So for a long time northern and southern France were independent of each other and the

differences between these two regions increased. Hugh did not even flinch when the Aquitanians recognized as king a son of the dead Charles of Lorraine. He was a great bider of his time.

In the assembly at Senlis that elected Hugh king it was doubtless in the minds of the nobles that the kingship should remain elective, a new king to be chosen by them upon the death of the old one. In this matter Hugh did not see eye to eye with the nobles. Their plan would have been little better than a return to the old mayors-of-the-palace idea as practised in Austrasia. Thus the kingship might have been handed around among the leading counts and dukes. « The crown of France might have promenaded from Normandy to Flanders and from Flanders to Champagne. » Whether from family pride or from far-sighted statesmanship, Hugh took steps to prevent any such promenade of the crown. At the very outset of his reign he had his eldest son elected as his successor and consecrated as such. The establishment and maintenance of this precedent probably saved France from the anarchy that prevailed in Germany during the centuries that the office of emperor was elective there.

Robert the Pious, who succeeded Hugh, competed closely with Louis the Pious in piety, but excelled him in sagacity. Robert had a habit of sleeping on the bare ground throughout Lent, and there he seems to have scored one for piety over Louis. But Robert, despite his piety, was excommunicated by the pope when he broke the rules of the Church in marrying his first cousin Bertha, daughter of the duke of Burgundy. His excommunication was strictly political, the pope having pronounced it at the instigation of Otto III of Germany, but that made it no easier for Robert.

Robert stuck to Bertha for awhile in spite of the excommunication, but the Church made it too hot for

him in the end. Excommunication in those days was no mere form. It meant that you became an outcast, something like a leper. It is reported that, « all men fled at the approach of King Robert. There remained with him only two servants to prepare his food, and they purified by fire all the vessels he had touched ».

It is small wonder that Robert gave in. Bertha having retired, he married Constance, a princess of Aquitaine, and she turned out to be almost as bad as excommunication. She was « an imperious woman whom the king himself came to fear. » Robert made a journey to Rome to try to persuade the pope to let him get rid of Constance and take back Bertha. The pope, however, failed to have a heart, and poor Robert had to go back disconsolately to the imperious Constance.

Constance evidently liked to have some gaiety in the palace. Robert's piety got on her nerves. He was always singing hymns and feeding the poor, whereas she preferred to have the troubadours in and make a merry evening.

That the fashions at that time were very different as between Paris and Toulouse is proved by the effect produced upon at least one monk by the playmates Constance brought up with her from the south. « No sooner did Constance appear at court », wrote Raoul Glaber, « than France was overrun by the vainest and most hare-brained creatures that ever walked the earth. Their manner of living, their dress, their armor, and the harness of their horses were equally fantastic. Their hair hardly grew to the middle of their heads. They were veritable actors whose shaven chins, long stockings, ridiculous boots ending in a long point bent back, whose whole grotesque exterior bore witness to lack of mental balance. They were men without faith, without law, without shame, whose contagious example corrupted the French nation, formerly so modest, and dragged her into all kinds of debauchery and crime ».

Toulouse, it may be suspected, outdid Paris at that time in the volume of its tourist business.

Under Robert occurred the first execution of heretics in France. The Church was strong enough to take extreme measures against any movement that threatened to undermine its spiritual supremacy. Public opinion supported the Church in this policy. Thirteen heretics were burned at Orléans in 1022 in the presence

The excommunication of Robert the Pious.
(*After the painting of Laurens.*)

of the king and queen. One of these adjudged heretics had formerly been confessor to Queen Constance. Perhaps he had spoken to her harshly about some of her sins. As the poor man passed along on his way to be burned, cruel Constance poked out one of his eyes with a stick.

Robert had a thirteen-year war on his hands to make good his inheritance of Burgundy. The inheritance was disputed by a son-in-law of Robert's uncle who had been duke of Burgundy. If the son-in-law had won, Burgundy would have become German, but Robert won.

In suppressing some of the robber barons of his

time, Robert made a good record. He also cooperated with the monks of the famous abbey of Cluny in their difficult job of reforming the Church in France.

It was during the reign of Robert that the year 1000 arrived. If there was general apprehension as to the ending of the world about that time, that appears to have been due to a series of calamities rather than to any definite prophecy. From 987 to 994 serious famines and epidemics occurred. Then from 1001 to 1008 there were « great famines and terrible mortality ». From 1027 to 1029 it was still worse. « Hunger was so great that serfs killed travellers to eat them and even dug up bodies in the cemeteries. There was terrible cold and floods and the rain did not permit the wheat to germinate. »

Robert died in 1031 at Melun. Melun for the early Capetians was a sort of secondary capital to Paris.

Henry I succeeded his father in spite of the efforts of his mother Constance to get the crown for her younger son Robert. To make peace in the family, Henry gave Burgundy to Robert who thus became founder of the first Capetian dynasty of Burgundy, a dynasty that made great trouble for the house of France from which it sprang.

Constance in her campaign in favor of pet son Robert had the support of Eudes, Count of Blois. In overcoming this coalition Henry was helped by the duke of Normandy, then Robert the Devil. We shall see that the Devil did not give this help without getting his due. He got more territory for Normandy.

Later on, Henry, trying to regain what he had sacrificed to Normandy, encountered a terrible opponent in the Duke William, later to be known as William the Conqueror. Henry was defeated at Mortemer and at Varaville. We shall soon recur to those battles in connection with the account of William.

Henry married Anne, the daughter of a grand duke of Russia. In getting a wife from such a great distance he was taking no chance of repeating the mistake his father made in marrying a near-by cousin. Also he made a marriage that was considered an honor to the royal house of France in that the family of Anne claimed direct descent from Alexander the Great.

It is reported that Henry was indolent. Perhaps he was. Perhaps also his apparent indolence was consistent with the cautious, waiting policy inaugurated by Grandfather Hugh. In any case, if he was indolent, certain counts and dukes of his kingdom were not. The dukes of Normandy and the counts of Blois and Anjou were making France ring with the clangor of their arms. Perhaps Henry did well merely to survive the storms that were raging about him. An account of these storms falls in the next chapter.

Philip the First was Philip the worst. At least he was the worst of the first four Capetians, and the situation was saved for the family only by the strength of the son who succeeded him. Philip was only seven at the time his father died, so the Capetian dynasty then for the first time experienced the risk of a regency. Fortunately, Baudouin, Count of Flanders, who supplanted Queen Anne as regent, was loyal to the royal house and served it well.

In the sixth year of his reign, Philip, then thirteen, received the news of the battle of Hastings. That meant the conquest of England by his vassal, the duke of Normandy, and breakers ahead. A few other gentlemen of Normandy about this time conquered Sicily, and founded the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The Burgundians went down into Spain during the reign of Philip and made a Capetian of Burgundy king of the new kingdom of Portugal. The First Crusade occurred.

In all these great events Philip took no part. He stayed steadily in Paris.

Luckily for Philip, some of his lords, mightier than he, were engaged in quarrels with each other, and William of Normandy was busy with his new colony of England. They did not have time to bother about the kingship of France. Otherwise Philip might have been swept off the map, especially as he had incurred the displeasure of the Church. His luck continued to the very end. William the Conqueror, finally marching against Paris, received his death wound at the burning of Mantes.

Philip could not control even some of the little lords whose castles were within the duchy of France. The lords of Montlhéry, which is almost at the gates of Paris, and of Puiset flouted his authority and fought his men with impunity.

Philip's troubles with the Church were on account of his marriages. His first wife was Bertha, a princess of Holland. Twenty years later he repudiated her without being divorced and carried off Bertrade of Montfort, wife of the count of Anjou, whom he married illegally. Excommunication followed, to say nothing of the hostility of the count of Anjou whose wife he had stolen, and of the count of Flanders who was a half-brother of Bertha.

The ignoble life of Philip ended at Melun in 1108, and we turn with relief from him toward William of Normandy, the greatest of them all since Charlemagne.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

RICHARD THE GOOD AND ROBERT THE DEVIL, BOTH OF NORMANDY. NORMANS IN ITALY.

Richard suppresses the serfs and Robert suppresses his brother. Robert ruins rebellious lords and raids Brittany. He enters Constantinople on a mule shod with gold and pays everybody twice what they ask for. Surplus sons of Normandy go on great adventures. They conquer Italy and found a kingdom there, a truly remarkable performance. Meet Robert Guiscard, a Norman demi-god.

We left Normandy in Chapter Eighteen at the end of the reign of its third duke. He was Richard I the Fearless who died in 996. He was succeeded by his son Richard II who was called the Good, but whose goodness was intermittent and capricious.

Richard II began his career by « drowning in blood » an uprising of the serfs. This uprising had in view no more than the restoration of certain former rights of pasturage and of wood-cutting that had been withdrawn. It was an orderly affair on the part of the land workers who started it. These rustics organized by groups and each group chose two delegates to take part in a general assembly where the desired reforms were to be discussed and formulated. Not a chance did they have even to hold a meeting. An uncle of the young duke, Raoul d'Ivry, broke up the assembly and put its leaders to death by slow fire. They were much too far ahead of their times. The monks wrote of them with horror as « anarchists who wish new laws for the exploitation of the forests and the waters ». After the leading anarchists had been burned and their followers

seriously mutilated, « the peasants, thus instructed », wrote William of Jumièges, « ceased their assemblies and returned to their plows ».

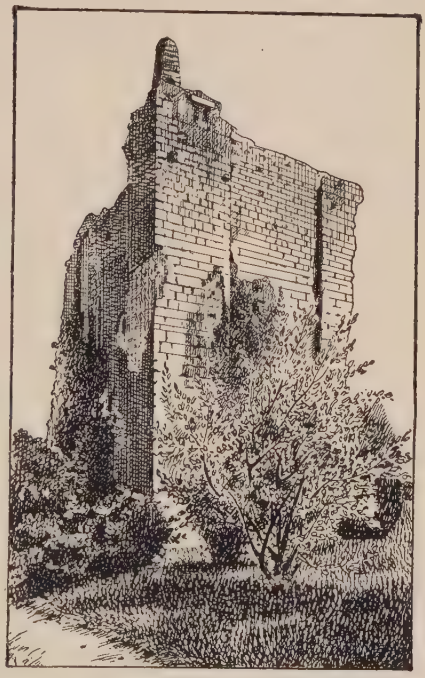
The development of armor gave the nobles an enormous advantage over the serfs. A well armored gentleman could ride into a large crowd of unarmored yokels and beat them down, as a master of hounds beats down his dogs. The yokels simply had to bide their time until some day when the gentlemen might take off their armor.

Under Richard II occurred the first complications with England. His sister Emma had married Ethelred, England's Anglo-Saxon king. Emma found her new husband harsh and asked her brother in Normandy to intervene. Ethelred, furious at such an idea, attacked Normandy in the Cotentin near Coutances. His forces were defeated in a battle in which women fought with the men. Ethelred was dethroned later by King Canute of the Danes who married his widow.

Richard was on excellent terms with Robert of France whom he helped in a campaign in Burgundy. In 1002 a Norman army besieged Auxerre. Following his father's example, Richard was good to the monks. At one time seven hundred of them went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and the duke paid all the expenses. He died at Fécamp in 1026.

Richard had his eldest son, Richard III, recognized as his heir, but Son Richard had the misfortune to have a younger brother named Robert. Robert was energetic, ambitious, and unscrupulous. Richard gave a banquet to some of his principal friends by way of celebrating his coming into the dukedom. That was a tragic repast. There was poison in the food. Richard and his friends died and Robert got the discredit for that. His friends called him the Magnificent, but the serfs dubbed him the Devil.

Robert succeeded in crushing such opposition as his alleged crime aroused. There was no doubt about his energy and courage. One of the counts who revolted against him was fierce old William Talvas of Bellême who, according to an old history, « terrorised the whole countryside from the height of his impregnable castle of Domfront that stood where Normandy, Maine, and Brittany came together. This old bird of prey was starved out of his vulture's nest and had to beg for pardon on hands and knees, crawling a long distance with a saddle on his back. He died of rage and three of his sons, great bandits like their father, were hunted down and destroyed like wild beasts ». The ruin of the castle of Domfront is one of those well worth visiting.



All that remains today of the *donjon* of the castle of Domfront.

The Bretons chose this time of Robert's difficulties for an invasion near Avranches. Robert's men defeated them there, and then, with a fleet, ravaged the

whole long coast of Brittany in the manner of their forefathers. This expedition started out with the idea of raiding England and dethroning King Canute, but, being driven by contrary winds to Brittany, the Normans raided Brittany instead. England was spared for the time being. Count Alain of Brittany was glad to obtain peace by swearing homage to Robert at the abbey of Mont-St-Michel.

Later on, Robert was able to render that important service to Henry I of France that we noted in the previous chapter. Henry had been compelled to flee from France on account of the hostility of his mother Constance who was trying to put her younger son Robert on the throne. He was cordially received by Robert the Devil at Fécamp and, with Robert's aid, Henry soon got his kingdom back. All the Norman duke asked as compensation for this service was the French Vexin, that rich region that lies between the Epte and the Oise. Possession of the French Vexin brought Normandy right down to Pontoise, and, having Pontoise, Robert had Paris nearly at his mercy.

In 1035 Robert, afflicted by remorse for his many sins, decided to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. An account of that pilgrimage and of other Norman exploits occurs in Albert-Petit's History of Normandy. The following very free translation of his account runs to the end of this chapter.

Robert's pilgrimage was a strange mixture of humility and of ostentation. He whipped himself in public but maintained his rank. He entered Constantinople riding a mule shod with gold and paid everywhere twice what was asked. He wished to humble himself, but not to be humiliated. Invited to dinner by the emperor, he noted that there were not enough chairs for him and his lords. So they folded their magnificent brocaded coats and sat on them. On leaving, they left the coats behind, Robert remarking, « Norman

nobles do not carry their chairs on their shoulders ».

Toward the end of the journey ill health required him to travel in a litter that was borne by four negroes. Meeting a returning Norman who asked for a message to take home, Robert said, « Tell them you have seen the duke of Normandy on his way to Paradise carried by devils ». On his return journey Robert died and was buried at Nicea.

There was much travel in those days, far more than one would think from the state of the roads, the hidden perils in every wood, and the ignorance as to remote countries. The serfs often made perilous escapes from their lords. Many ancient towns in France have the name Villeneuve, and owe their origin to the refugees who fled to them in feudal times. As to the clergy and nobles, they were forever starting away on long journeys over mountains and valleys. The bishops visited the tombs of the apostles and of saints. The nobles had even more reason or pretext for travel; homage to render, response to the summons of a suzerain, banishment after defeat, or the need to seek, beyond the frontier, adventures and booty such as were not to be found in regions that began to be policed.

Normandy furnished more of these runners of the roads than all the rest of France. This was not only on account of the inherited instincts of these descendants of pirates and freebooters; it was also because in Normandy the fewest disorders were permitted. At home there was little prospect for younger sons with long teeth and light inheritances. And the Normans of that time were of marvellous fecundity. Thanks to marital freedom, every lord had more sons than he could keep track of. Some of these surplus sons entered the abbeys, but most of them relied on ingenuity and good sword play for finding a place in the sun.

Tancrède de Hauteville had twelve sons. They conquered Italy. One went especially on pilgrimages. Pilgrimage had a broad back. Merchants, adventurers, and criminals wore the frock of the pilgrim. The pilgrims often returned with full hands, or not at all if they found a pleasant place to remain. Normandy provided many pilgrims of this sort. One finds them in Spain where the endless wars against the Moors offered the chance to give and to make *bons coups*. But it was especially in Italy, on the road to Jerusalem, that one finds them in solid groups.

The Normans gained a foothold in southern Italy. This region belonged to the Greek empire, but the Lombards had several principalities there. The Saracens came and pillaged without discrimination, and the result was a condition of anarchy favorable to audacity. Pilgrims often passed through this region making for ports where they could take ship to the Holy Land.

Forty Normans, returning from Palestine, came into Palermo just as it was about to be attacked by a fleet carrying twenty thousand Saracens. Effeminate Palermo lacked courage to defend itself, but the handful of Normans roused the courage of the people and led them to the assault. The enemy was put to rout. This was in 1016. The Normans refused all recompense for having saved Palermo, saying they had acted « only for the love of God ». But, once back in Normandy, they boasted of what they had done and extolled the charms and wealth of southern Italy. Many Norman adventurers, guided this time by other sentiments than the love of God, promptly passed over the Alps.

The most famous and fortunate of these new pilgrims of adventure were the sons of Tancrède de Hauteville, a poor gentleman of Coutances. The sons of Tancrède showed amazing skill coupled with lack of scruples in profiting by the jealousies of those who might easily

have suppressed them. They served the Greeks against the Saracens at the siege of Syracuse, and then fell upon the Greeks who had refused them what they considered their proper compensation in booty.

Elsewhere they were equally successful. William Iron-Arm killed with one sword-stroke, the governor of Syracuse, and another with one blow of his fist killed the horse of a *parlementaire* whose speech seemed to him too long. With twelve hundred men they cut to pieces sixty thousand Greeks.

They began to instal themselves. William Iron-Arm became a duke and had a dozen counts for vassals. He was succeeded by Robert Guiscard, one of the sons of Tancrède. Robert Guiscard began his career as a bandit of the highroad and ended as a sovereign. He was a blond Hercules, lightning-eyed, great-shouldered, a fine type of virile beauty. Besides that, he was clever. The pope found that out.

Inconvenienced by these terrible Normans who constantly increased their holdings, Pope Leo IX excommunicated them and then marched against them at the head of an army of Italians, Germans and Greeks. The army was beaten and the pope was captured by Guiscard. Such a prisoner was an embarrassment. Guiscard asked the pope for his blessing and offered him his services. This diplomatic act served him better than a victory. The pope gave the Normans official consecration. His successor, Nicholas II, recognized Guiscard as duke of Pouille, thus legalizing his position.

Robert Guiscard then took the attitude of a crusader. His brother Roger invaded Sicily and defeated the Mussulmans there. In ten years all of Sicily was taken. The Normans built a fleet for defense against Greeks or Saracens. A new pope, Gregory VII, who at first sought to hinder the progress of Guiscard, ended by asking for his help in trouble that developed

with the emperor. He finally took refuge in the states of Guiscard and died at Salerno in 1085. Robert Guiscard also died in that same year and was buried with other princes of his family in the abbey of the Trinity that he had founded near Venosa.

The work of Robert was carried on by his brother Roger, the great count of Sicily, last of the sons of Tancrède. Roger and his son Roger II formed the state of the Two Sicilies which took the title of kingdom in 1130.

The Norman princes in Sicily spoke Arabic as well as Latin and Greek. Their court rivalled those of Constantinople and Bagdad. They founded a famous school of medicine and built wonderful palaces and churches at Palermo. The cathedral of Messina, destroyed by the earthquake of 1908, dated from the Normans; so likewise that of Monreale at Palermo, the « jewel of Sicily ».

This kingdom of the Two Sicilies was one of the most amazing products of the spirit of adventure of the Middle Ages. Luchaire, a thoughtful historian, calls it « the greatest work of Norman genius ».

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR GETS STARTED, FULK NERRA OF ANJOU AND COUNT EUDES OF BLOIS.

Robert the Devil falls in love with Arlette, the tanner's daughter. Their son, William, survives an adventurous boyhood. The Black Falcon burns a wife and makes a pilgrimage. William throws hands and feet over the walls of Alençon. He pushes a lady into the mud, but she marries him anyhow. A man up a tree, crying out in the night, terrifies Henry of France.

Robert the Devil had a high-towered castle at Falaise which is not far south of Caen. He looked out from one of its high towers one day and saw a pretty girl who was doing the family washing at the pool of a spring in the valley below. Others were there with her, but they were not so fair as she. Robert saw only the pretty one. He then uttered the equivalent in early French for the more modern inquiry, 'Who is that peach?"

"Sire, she is Arlette, the daughter of the village tanner," was the reply.

"Tanner or no tanner," said Robert, "I'm for Arlette. Let's have her up to the castle."

So they had Arlette, the tanner's daughter, up to the castle, and you may go to Falaise and still look down from the high tower to the pool below where Robert first saw Arlette. They call it Arlette's pool now, and they are still doing the village washing there, washing that is occasionally interrupted perchance by

reminiscent if not wistful glances upward at the castle towers.

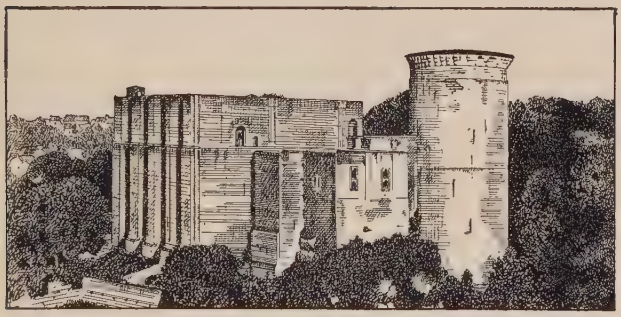
Arlette became the mother of a fine boy. They called him William, and William dearly loved his mother. He hardly remembered his father at all, father having gone away so soon on a long journey from which he never returned.

William was only eight years old when his father died in far away Nicea. That was in 1035. Robert must have been very fond of the small son he left behind in that strong Norman castle, for he chose him to be his successor in case he failed to return, and had him recognized as such. Even if his grandfather was a tanner, his father wanted William to be duke of Normandy. Tanning at that time, consistent with the nature of the occupation, was in bad odor. That a future duke of Normandy should have a tanner's daughter for his mother was something hard for the nobles of Normandy to swallow, to say nothing of what their wives thought about it. Just think how it would have been if the new duke's grandfather walked right in to the duke's table straight from the tannery! You had to draw the line somewhere. The rushes on the floor were already bad enough without adding to the ducal banquets the aroma that skins exhale when being transformed into leather. Some of those nobles who, in Robert's presence, « accepted » young William as his successor evidently did so with mental reservations.

When the news of Robert's death came at last to Falaise, Arlette was smart enough to get right out of the castle taking her boy with her. She well knew that some of William's uncles would soon be coming to call on him, and probably would invite him to come and stay with them for awhile. Arlette knew that William's uncles had certain guest chambers in their castles that were extremely undesirable as to

light and ventilation. In those chambers guests were sometimes locked up and forgotten for a number of years. Arlette had no wish to have William forgotten under any such conditions, so she made for the tannery where William had a fine time playing among old skins. He was soon sufficiently disguised.

For several years William was passed around among the relatives of the tanner and among certain friendly



The castle at Falaise from which Robert the Devil looked down and saw Arlette. You may visit there the room in which her son William was born.

minor nobles in order to save him from extermination. He went from thatched cottage to castle, and back to thatch again. It took courage to take care of a child that had such powerful enemies. One kind gentleman who took him in had his throat cut in the night as he lay in bed with little William beside him.

Meanwhile grave disorders abounded in Normandy. The barons claimed that they owed no allegiance to a duke who was the illegitimate child of a tanner's daughter. Many of the bishops were also opposed to young William, especially the bishop of Sées who afterwards was killed in a bloody encounter in his own cathedral. What turned the tide was that Henry of

France decided to fulfil his feudal duty in protecting this fatherless vassal during his minority. This was a hard decision for Henry to make. He hesitated a long time. It was plain to see that growth in power of Normandy would be dangerous to the house of France, but on the other hand conditions there were going from bad to worse as things were. The lesser of two evils seemed to be to support young William.

In 1047 there occurred a revolt of the barons of western Normandy. King Henry and the young Duke William rode together to suppress it. A pitched battle occurred at Val-des-Dunes near Caen. It is recorded that some of the revolted Normans in their charge shouted the old pagan battle cry, « Thor aid us ». So they had become infidels as well as rebels. In that bloody battle of Val-des-Dunes the king of France was thrown from his horse, but William « covered his nineteen years with glory ». The castles of the barons who revolted were destroyed and « Normandy breathed again ».

While Henry was still hesitating about whether to support William or not, and rebellious barons were returning toward barbarism in Normandy, the counts of Blois and of Anjou were stirring up troubles in other parts of his kingdom.

It will be recalled that Eudes, Count of Blois, had supported Constance, the mother of Henry, in her effort to prevent Henry from gaining the crown. This Eudes had great ambitions. His idea was to seize Provence and then Lorraine. Having thus restored Lotharingia, he planned to unite it to Italy. But Eudes of Blois was defeated and killed in a great battle near Bar-le-Duc in 1037.

Count Eudes also fought frequently against the famous Fulk Nerra, the Black Falcon, who was the count of Anjou. Fulk was an uncle of Constance, and

was well called black. He had one of his wives burned to death, and another fled to Palestine to escape him. Fulk himself finally made a pilgrimage to Palestine where, at his own orders, he was dragged, naked on a hurdle, through the streets of Jerusalem while being flogged by two of his own men, and crying out, « Lord have pity on the traitor, on Fulk the perjurer ». He then tried to walk all the way home and got as far as Metz before he gave up. That was in 1040.

The pilgrimages of Fulk and of Robert the Devil throw an illuminating light on what must have been the anguish in men's minds at that time over the prospect of going to hell for their sins. The gruesome pictures of hell on the walls of the churches had had their effect. That men sought to escape from such a place by heroic measures of repentance indicates the sort of hold the Church had gained on the people.

Fulk Nerra was a great castle builder. You hear of him as such at Loches, at Langeais, at Angers and elsewhere. He had a son, Geoffrey Martel, who revolted against him in 1036. Old Fulk defeated his rebellious son and made him undergo the same humiliation that Robert the Devil had meted out to William Talvas. Geoffrey « was made to crawl several miles with a saddle on his back to come to the feet of his father and implore his pardon ». The penalty of the saddle and crawl was called the *harnescar*. Geoffrey Martel later became an important ally of Henry of France when Henry turned against William of Normandy.

William, after his victory over the barons at Val-des-Dunes, still had plenty of trouble on his hands. He had to defend himself against Brittany and against Anjou. The castle of Domfront and the town of Alençon had to be taken and retaken. It was said of William at this time that he was « not tall, but very strong, and had fierce majesty; though not of a cruel

disposition, he was capable of anything when angered ». In an attack on Alençon, he showed what he was capable of when angered. There the defenders of the walls taunted him about his maternal ancestry, holding their noses and hanging out hides. William happened to have some prisoners who were also of Alençon. His reply to those who taunted him was a shower over the wall of hands and feet hastily removed from the limbs of their unfortunate fellow townsmen.

The uncles of William were still against him. One of them was Mauger, Bishop of Rouen, who was later deposed. Another uncle held the strong castle of Arques near Dieppe where he maintained a stubborn and long drawn out resistance. The ruins of the castle at Arques, as well as those of Falaise, should be visited by anyone interested in William or in beauty. They are both magnificent.

William loved to hunt, and one of his favorite hunting grounds was the forest of Valognes. Valognes is the first town of importance you pass after you leave Cherbourg on your way to Paris. Baedeker describes it as « decayed », but for no reason more discernible than the odor of certain cheeses made there. Once William was asleep in his hunting lodge in the woods of Valognes when his jester rushed in with news that enemies were at hand. William, without stopping to dress, leaped on his horse and rode hard all the way back to Falaise which is nearly a hundred miles from Valognes. The memory of that long chilly ride stayed with him. It affected the punishment he meted out, when he had them in his power, to those enemies who had caused it. Among other things, he required them to construct a road from Valognes to Falaise.

The jester who saved him at Valognes was sent later by William as an emissary to his cousin Matilda, daughter of the count of Flanders. William wanted to marry Matilda. Though he may have been a good

jester, as an emissary of matrimony William's funmaker was not so good. He did not have the success with Matilda that Aurelian, Clovis's messenger, had with Clotilde. She said things to the jester about William that he did not dare repeat to his master. However, he came back with a cheerful face and tried to pass the matter off lightly, suggesting that everything would be all right if William went himself. William went, and he met Matilda, so the story goes, coming out of church dressed in her Sunday best. William spoke to her politely, but received an ungracious answer. In fact the young lady made an unfortunate remark that reflected on William's mother, and William would not let even a beloved lady cousin speak lightly about Arlette. He pushed Matilda over in the mud, and left her lying there in her Sunday finery that was practically ruined. He then dared her father or anybody else to come out and fight, besides stating what he thought about them. Nobody came out, so William had to go home to take it out on the jester. The jester happened to see William coming from a long way off, and was out when his master reached the castle. But the best part of the story is that soon after Matilda sent for the jester, and told him she had decided that she liked William after all. They were married and the jester may have been best man.

About 1054 Henry of France decided that, as to Normandy, it was time to change sides. Instead of being for William, he decided to be against him. The reasons for Henry's change of mind are obvious. Normandy was getting too strong. Also it blocked the natural outlet of Paris by the Seine to the sea. The houses of France and of Normandy had been good friends for more than a century, but now that friendship ended.

Henry formed an alliance with Geoffrey Martel for

an attack on Normandy. Henry and Geoffrey invaded William's territory by way of Evreux, while Duke Eudes, the king's brother, approached from the north supported by cavalry of Picardy, Champagne, and Burgundy. The outlook was dark for William. They were closing in on him from both sides. Then a great piece of good luck befell the Normans. Those who had gone to face the forces of Eudes found those forces scattered out on a booty hunt near Mortemer at the edge of the beautiful forest of Lyons. The Normans, keeping together, attacked the dispersed booty hunters, killed or captured many, and put the rest to flight.

This excellent news was rushed through to William, who was near Mantes, and reluctant to start a fight with his own king. On receipt of the news from Mortemer, the duke decided to use a little strategy of which the following is an ancient account.

« When darkness fell, William sent one of his men who climbed a tree near the king's camp and began to cry out with a loud voice. On being asked by the sentinels why he shrieked thus at such an hour, he answered, « My name is Raoul de Ternois, and I bring you evil tidings. Take your wagons and your chariots to Mortemer to carry away your friends who are dead, for the French came against us in order to test the Norman chivalry, and they found them stronger than they desired. Eudes, their standard-bearer, was shamefully put to flight, and Guy, Count of Ponthieu, was taken prisoner. All the others were killed or taken prisoners or, fleeing rapidly, had great difficulty in saving themselves. Carry this news at the earliest possible moment to the king of the French from the duke of Normandy. »

The man up the tree, crying out in the night like a bird of ill-omen, had the desired effect. Henry, terrified, retired in haste, and Geoffrey Martel was required to do homage to William.

Three years later the king and the count of Anjou tried another attack on William. Again William beat them, this time at Varaville on the bank of the Dives, the Dives which is half river and half inlet of the sea. There again fortune favored William. He made an attack on the king's forces while they were crossing the Dives. Whether it was so planned or not, the swiftly rising tide cut off those who were attacked from the rest of the army on the other side of the river. The unlucky ones who had already crossed were destroyed in sight of comrades who were powerless to help. One bad feature about armor was that you couldn't swim a river in it.

The defeat at Varaville was too much for Henry. He signed a treaty of peace with William, and died soon after. Philip of France, who succeeded Henry, was only seven years old when his father died. There is no doubt that at this time it was entirely within the power of William to strike a fatal blow at the Capetian dynasty had he cared to do so But he did not care to do so; he stayed his hand. « He respected feudal law, desiring that it be respected by his own vassals. » Besides, he had other plans in view than the overthrow of the house of France. We shall see in the next chapter what those plans were.

William spared France, but he did not hesitate to add Maine to Normandy upon the death in 1063 of his old enemy, Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

EARLY EVENTS IN ENGLAND. EDWARD, HAROLD AND WILLIAM. THE PRELIMINARIES TO THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

England and Normandy become friends, but friendship soon ceases between them. Harold makes an unhappy visit to Normandy. William fools him with two bones and organizes an expedition to England. Harold has his hands full already, but hastens to Hastings. Eve of the great battle.

William's great plan was to conquer England. We have already noted that nature provided a certain geological sanction for this adventure, and that England, until the latest terrestrial disturbance, was a peninsula of France. It remains to be seen, however, whether in the realm of human affairs there were reasons to justify what William proposed to do. This calls for a little consideration of the early history of England.

England, like France, enjoyed little if any peace after the Roman legions left her in the Fifth Century. Barbarians went there too, chief among the invaders of England being the Jutes, the Angles, and the Saxons. Under Egbert, contemporary, friend, and one-time guest of Charlemagne, a more or less effective union was formed between the four kingdoms of the Saxons and the three kingdoms of the Angles which at that time divided the soil of England between them. Then the Normans came to « ravage cruelly », and Danes after the Normans made themselves for a time masters of England.

Alfred the Great in the last quarter of the Ninth Century drove out the Danes and did a constructive job in England comparable to Charlemagne's on the Continent. He established something like internal order and conditions that permitted progress. But after Alfred, the Danes came again and a century of intermittent fighting ended in their victory. We have noted that during that century of intermittent fighting with the Danes, Ethelred, a Saxon king in England, married Emma of Normandy, a sister of Richard the Fearless who reigned as duke from 942 to 996. This led to a closeness of relationship between Normandy and England that was to have important consequences. The relationship established itself in business as well as between the reigning families. Not only did the king of England and the duke of Normandy become brothers-in-law, but wine and fish began to go from Rouen to London without having to pay duty.

Ethelred died in 1016 and then began a struggle between his son, Edmund Ironside, and the Danes. The Danes were successful and Canute, their king, reigned for twenty-five years over England as well as over Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. As we have noted, Canute married Ethelred's widow, Emma of Normandy. During the reign of their stepfather the children of Emma and Ethelred left London for Rouen. They were so much at the court of Normandy that they became more like Normans than like Saxons. When Canute died he was succeeded by a son named Harold, not to be confused with the heroic Harold of Hastings. This earlier Harold, wishing to suppress possible competition, invited the sons of Ethelred and Emma to leave Normandy and come over to England. One of them foolishly trusted Harold, crossed the Channel, and had his eyes put out as soon as he landed. He died, and Harold too died soon after this crime.

The line of Canute became extinct in 1043 and Edward the Confessor, the only surviving son of Emma and Ethelred, came to the throne of England without opposition. Edward, having spent his youth in Normandy, spoke French and felt much more at home among Normans than among Saxons. However, he married Edith, daughter of the famous Godwin, who, though the son of an ox-driver, had become the recognized leader of the Anglo-Saxon nobles. Unfortunately the marriage of Edward with Edith provided no heir to the throne. The old chronicles say that, « the sweet and charming Edith, who sprang like a rose from thorns, was Edward's wife in name only ».

Edward brought with him to the court of England a great number of Normans who were just as popular there as the gentlemen Constance of Aquitaine brought from Toulouse had been popular at the court of France, or even less so. Normans held all the important positions under Edward, both ecclesiastical and military. A Norman was archbishop of Canterbury, and Normans were in command of the fortified places.

When young William of Normandy visited England in 1051 he found himself much at home. He was royally received by the Normans of Edward's court, and he saw Normans everywhere. Edward treated him like a younger, much loved brother. Small wonder was it then that William got the idea that he might succeed Edward as king of England, especially as Edward had suggested it when they had been intimates in Normandy, and now there was no heir in sight.

The Saxon element in England, however, was greatly offended at the favors shown to William. They were already cursing the Normans forced upon them as officials, and they viewed with no favor the idea of a Norman as successor to Edward. Godwin, who had been exiled, returned as leader of the Saxon

lords and, under his leadership, they compelled Edward to purge his court of Normans. The Saxons were willing to trade in wine and fish with Rouen, but they wanted no Normans to hold fat jobs in England. The Norman archbishop of Canterbury was expelled by force and replaced by Stigand, a Saxon. Many other Normans at this time rapidly retraced their steps to Rouen.

Godwin became more powerful than Edward. He was a true mayor of the palace. When he died in 1053 his popular son Harold became the Saxons' favorite candidate to succeed as king. Meanwhile Harold had become Edward's right hand man.

Then Harold went to Normandy. Why he did this is not clear. One version is that he went on an errand for Edward in the matter of certain hostages due to be returned to England. Another is that he went fishing in the Channel and that contrary winds blew him to the shores of France near Abbeville. In any case, he was taken prisoner there by the count of Ponthieu. William, as soon as he heard of this, had Harold released, and received him with all honors at Rouen.

The enforced visit with William must have been embarrassing for Harold, who well knew what was in William's mind. To pass the time agreeably William suggested that they make a little expedition together into Brittany. As they rode along William said in his most agreeable manner, « When Edward and I lived as two brothers, he promised that if he became king of England, he would make me his heir. Now, Harold, if you help me to that, I will heap benefits upon you. Promise you will give up to me the castle of Dover and, meantime, leave me one of the hostages. Also, I think I might consider favorably your marriage with my daughter. »

To all these suggestions Harold responded vaguely. Meanwhile he bore himself valiantly in the expedition into Brittany. He had to find some expression for pent-up feelings. He dashed in and saved the lives of several Normans who fell into quicksands along the coast near Mont-St-Michel. That quicksand incident you may see portrayed in the famous tapestry of Bayeux which is one of the longest and narrowest tapestries in the world. It is supposed to have been made by Matilda and her handmaidens and portrays in many scenes events connected with the conquest of England by her illustrious husband. The Bayeux tapestry is still at Bayeux. It has a room to itself in a small building across from the beautiful cathedral. No school history of medieval times is complete without at least one picture copied from the tapestry of Bayeux. If Matilda did as much work on it as has been claimed, William was not the only hard working member of the family.

A bit of the battle of Hastings as portrayed in the tapestry of Bayeux.

On the way back from Brittany the party stopped for the evening at one of William's smaller castles, and there William played a low trick on his guest. In the presence of the court, two small bones were produced. So far everything was all right. Two small bones are still sometimes produced at house parties. But these two bones were different. They were slightly sacred, and William suggested that Harold swear on them to do what had been proposed as to England. The bones were so slightly sacred, and William had him so far from home that Harold

thought he had better take a chance and swear. So William set them down on a chest that was handy and Harold swore over them that he would do what William wanted him to do. As soon as Harold finished swearing, they lifted the lid of the chest, and horrified Harold saw that in it there were about a hundred bones, all particularly sacred. Instead of swearing over two negligible relics he had sworn « over the bodies of all the saints ». That must have been a bad evening for the guest from England. Now if he didn't keep his word William could tell the pope and he might be excommunicated. William could tell the world, and the world of that day would consider Harold's oath binding. Such was the power of sacred bones.

Harold had hardly returned to England when Edward the Confessor died. Edward's death was featured by his great anxiety about the future, both as to this world and as to the next. On his death bed he declared Harold his heir and apparently did not mention William. He had a nephew who was the legitimate heir, but no one wanted him to be king and the nephew seemed not to care. At least he was one of those who later walked in the procession that went to offer the crown of England to William. His name was Edward Atheling.

Upon Edward's death Harold did not delay in the matter of succeeding him. The funeral was held in Westminster Abbey the very next day after the king's death, and on that same day Harold was anointed and crowned. This happened on the sixth of January, 1066. Harold knew that if he delayed the coronation long enough for William to get the news and get to England, it might never take place, at least not on his head. As it was, he may have cast several anxious glances over his shoulder toward the door while the coronation

ceremonies were proceeding. Probably he told the bishop to hurry the business.

William was out hunting near Rouen when he received the bad news from England. He turned silently homeward. When he reached the castle, he sat down in the great hall, covered his head with his cloak, and presumably did some heavy thinking. When he finally uncovered his head and broke silence, he said that he sorrowed as much for Harold's failure to keep his promise as he did for the death of Edward. He then got up and got busy.

First he sent an envoy to Harold to ask him what about his oath. Harold, who had found all his nerve again, claimed that the oath, having been made under conditions of duress and trickery, was invalid. Evidently he had seen a lawyer. He declined to give up the crown of England and respectfully regretted that he did not find it convenient to marry William's daughter.

William then told the world what he thought about Harold. Particularly he told the pope. Now, as it happened, Harold was already in bad favor with the pope. That was because the pope had not been receiving remittances from England with any regularity of late. There was a Church tax called Peter's pence that was being badly collected. So the pope told William to go ahead against Harold as far as he was concerned. He even sent him the banner of St-Peter to carry along on the proposed expedition to England.

There is no doubt that, judicially considered, Harold had a much better claim to the crown of England than William. But in those days an oath was considered an oath whether obtained by trickery or not, especially when taken over relics of the saints. On that ground, thanks to his skill with the bones, William secured plenty of popular support for his claims save in England. In his advertising William made some suggestion of the booty that might be won. Volunteers came

thick and fast to offer their services in such a holy cause.

The duke of Normandy had no legal right to require his barons to accompany him on an expedition to England, but he knew these gentlemen too well to care to leave them at home while he was away. In an assembly held at Lillebonne the lords and barons showed little official enthusiasm for William's project, but he had private conversations with many of them and arranged matters. They went.

During the month of August in 1066 a large army assembled at the mouth of the Dives where William had made the rendezvous. The names of the leaders of this army are inscribed in the church at Dives where there is also a so-called Inn of William the Conqueror that appears to have inherited something of his spirit of booty collecting. The abbey of Mont-St-Michel sent ships to help transport the troops. Everybody seemed enthusiastic about the expedition except the kings of France and England. It was not in the interest of young Philip in Paris that one of his dukes should become a king, but he could do nothing adequate to prevent it.

The expedition finally started from Dives but, luckily for William as it turned out, contrary winds required a long delay at St-Valéry-sur-Somme where many from Picardy and Flanders joined the party. Meanwhile Harold, who had a strong army waiting all summer for William on the south coast of England, was led to relax his vigilance. Then other troubles called him to another part of his kingdom.

There is no doubt at all that Harold was a brave and able man. Nothing shows that more clearly than the brilliant and desperate campaign he now made against another enemy that appeared in the north of England. Harold had a brother named Tostig who had been earl of Northumberland, but who had been banished on account of misrule. The banished Tostig found a pow-

erful ally in another Harold, Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, the last of the great vikings. Harold Hardrada and Tostig with a great force invaded northern England and marched victoriously upon York. Late in September York was about to surrender, and the invading army was comfortably encamped at Stamford Bridge, expecting no danger. Then Harold of England suddenly burst upon them. He had made an enforced march of three hundred miles from London to York,

Just after he landed Duke William stumbled and fell. He rose with his hands full of dirt and pretended that his fall was a sign of taking possession of England.

raising recruits as he came. He took a desperate chance at the battle of Stamford Bridge, and he won. Harold Hardrada and Tostig were both killed in that battle.

Then there came terrible news from the south. William of Normandy, at the head of fourteen thousand knights and about fifty thousand footmen, had landed at Pevensey in Sussex three days after the battle of Stamford Bridge. Harold did not hesitate. He made all speed to the south. He had allowed his southern army to disperse early in September; the special levies of peasants had gone to their homes. So he had to gather additional forces in London and plan a new

campaign while the enemy was already pillaging at its pleasure in the vicinity of Hastings.

On the twelfth of October Harold marched out of London, and on the thirteenth he took position on the hill of Senlac, seven miles from Hastings, where now the town of Battle stands.

A great comet, later known as Halley's, blazed in the heavens. The tapestry of Bayeux has a kite-like something in it supposed to represent this comet. Its appearance was believed to indicate celestial interest in the struggle between William and Harold and to foretell ominous results thereof. Whether the heavens were interested in that struggle or not, those on earth might well have been. Had its effects been foreseen, the whole western world would have held its breath on that starry October night when brave Harold placed his men in line of battle on the hill not far from Hastings.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

HAROLD DEFEATED AT HASTINGS. THE SUBSEQUENT CAREER OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

The battle of Hastings opens with song. William gets the breaks, as he usually did. Harold finally falls among his stalwart Saxons. Fire breaks out while William is being crowned in London. He puts England in order, but gets bad help at the job. Lanfranc of Bec makes a good archbishop. William, wounded at Mantes, dies at Rouen.

Harold's troops had a good position on the hill of Senlac. There were marshes that protected one side of it. He left it to William to make the attack. Harold's army was slightly larger than William's, but Normandy had the advantage in cavalry.

The battle began with proper etiquette at nine in the morning. William's herald advanced, and, in a loud voice but in courteous words, invited Harold to abdicate in favor of his, the herald's, master, « the Duke of Normandy and rightful King of England ». Harold, also in a loud voice, but with less courtesy, declined to do so. The emissary withdrew, and then there came forward the minstrel Taillefer, singing as he came. He sang the song of Roland, and came on singing, tossing his sword in the air as he sang. This was the sign of combat. Harold's men loosed a flight of arrows, and Taillefer, still singing, was the first of the Normans to fall.

The stalwart Saxons of Harold, thickly massed on the hill, successfully resisted the first attacks. For

six hours the Norman charges were unfruitful; each charge was broken and repulsed. Then a rumour ran along the lines that William had fallen. Some of the Norman left wing faltered, then turned and fled. Those of the English who were opposite these fugitives foolishly left cover and pursued. Fortune had again smiled on William who had not fallen at all. He quickly took advantage of this new situation, rushing word to his retreating left wing to keep on retreating. Those of the English who kept on pursuing were surrounded and cut to pieces.

This strategy worked so well that William then simulated a general retreat. Harold had given orders for the untrained troops that made up the wings of his line not to leave the hill under any circumstances, but the apparent retreat of the Normans was too much for their discipline. They all rushed down, leaving Harold on the hill with only the center of his line which was composed of the well trained « House Carls ».

Those who had left the hill were attacked in the rear and cut down without mercy. This happened late in the afternoon. When dusk came, Harold and his House Carls were still fighting bravely against overwhelming odds on the hill that they were never to leave alive. The fighting went on into the night, for the stubborn Saxons would not retreat; they died where they stood. Harold was killed by an arrow that pierced his right eye, and his two brothers fell beside him, one of them being killed by William. Victory at last rested with the Normans in that battle on the hill near Hastings that was so great in its consequences both in England and in France.

Harold's unrecognized body lay neglected on the battle-field where it was found by « beautiful Edith of the swan neck », loved by Harold before he was king.

On the morning of the battle, William, when he learned where Harold had set his standard, made a vow that, if he won, he would found an abbey upon that spot. On the night of victory he feasted upon the battle-field, and he slept where later rose the altar of Battle Abbey. When it came to building the abbey, the builders found they were going to have trouble with the water supply and suggested a change of site. « Go on », said William. « Continue the work as begun, for this abbey will have more of wine than others have of water. »

Further opposition to William was slight. The English found themselves without any effective leader. The two brothers of Harold had fallen at his side. He had two brothers-in-law who were powerful in the north of England and were willing to listen to a call to the crown, but the national council, the Witan, did not call them. It went through the form of electing as king Edward Atheling, a nephew of Edward the Confessor. He was never crowned.

Meanwhile William was marching toward London. He took Dover, Winchester, and Canterbury without resistance, and then established himself in such position that he could readily cut off from London any aid that might approach from the north.

Under these conditions the English, to whom a foreign king was no novelty, began to show signs of making the best of a bad business. A delegation of solid business men came out from London to meet the invaders. « Welcome to our city » was what they had to say. Then there came also an official group, in which Edgar Atheling was included, to offer the crown to William without farther argument.

The coronation ceremonies were held on Christmas day in Westminster Abbey. They were elaborate and impressive. The Abbey, then new, witnessed, all

in that same memorable year, 1066, the funeral of Edward, the coronation of Harold, and now the consecration of William the Norman as king of England. As the crown settled firmly on the head of the Conqueror, those inside gave such a resounding English cheer that the Normans outside took alarm. They feared that their leader was in peril. Perhaps they suspected something like a reversal of the trick Hastings had played in the cathedral at Luna. In the riot that followed, a disastrous fire was started and many were killed. Everybody rushed out of the abbey except the clergy and the new king. He had more important matters than a fire to consider.

Early in the following spring William returned to Normandy. The submission of England seemed so complete at that time that he felt he could leave the direction of affairs temporarily in the hands of his half-brother Odo, the bishop of Bayeux.

William's return to Rouen was, of course, triumphant. Nearly everybody in Normandy had profited by the conquest of England. Great quantities of booty had been brought home. Before the Conquest, England had more wealth than Normandy. Now such of that wealth as was movable was largely moved across the Channel. Every boat making the crossing from England that winter was cluttered with loot. Apparently some of the Normans had conscientious scruples about this booty, especially when it had been taken from churches. Much of it was offered as presents to Norman abbeys. One of the abbeys declined to take any of the stolen goods. In this high stand that abbey was conspicuously alone. Of course it was sinful to take stolen property, but there were ways of getting around that. One way was to take the booty first and then do penance afterwards. This simple plan found much favor. To facilitate matters,

the bishops fixed, perhaps in advance, the penance to be done, of which naturally an important feature was to give a goodly share to Mother Church.

William's policy in England was, at the outset, a policy of conciliation. The common people took the outcome of the battle of Hastings as a judgment of God. They were ready to give loyal support to the new king as long as their local institutions were not interfered with. These William undertook to protect. In the archives of London there still exists the original of the edict by which he ratified the established privileges of that city.

Unfortunately, Odo of Bayeux proved an untrustworthy lieutenant. In William's absence he took entirely too high a hand. In consequence of that there were armed revolts. William, returning to England, naturally heard Odo's side of the story first, and that led him to change his attitude. No longer did he claim hereditary right to the crown of England. He claimed instead that he had won that crown by the sword, and proposed to act accordingly.

Following this new policy, William declared all land confiscated by the crown, and all old titles invalid: new ones had to be obtained from the new king. Even in this radical measure William was fair according to his ideas of fairness. Claims to land had become extremely confused. Apparently, the only way to straighten them out was to have an entirely new deal. The majority of former proprietors were allowed to retain their property after they had gone through the formality of obtaining a new title, but the families of those known to have fought at Hastings or to have taken part in the revolts were dispossessed. Of the land thus obtained he gave liberally to his followers. There was enough for all. Even the common soldiers became land-owners, and many of them settled permanently on the land they received. Those who boast

in England that « their ancestors came over with the Conqueror » have even more to boast about, they think, than those in America whose ancestors merely came over in the Mayflower.

William kept for himself and his family many of the largest confiscated estates, and all fortresses and good hunting forests. It is estimated that about sixty thousand fiefs were given out to those who had served him. All the important official positions were filled by Normans, and the Saxon bishops were swiftly expelled.

Naturally, Merry England was not very merry under these circumstances. There was much sullen resentment, but there was no national uprising; the people were too disunited for that. It is claimed that at this time the English were more advanced than the Normans in laws and literature, but the Normans were more « hardy, intelligent, thrifty, and sober ». They gave to England a rigorous, but a beneficial government. They established national unity that had not been achieved before, and prevented invasions by the Danes. England gained more than she lost by her change in masters. Just as France profited in the end by the coming of the Normans, so did England. But France lost when England gained. The Norman Conquest led to large participation by England in Continental affairs, and, for more than a century, it looked as though she might conquer France as effectively as the Normans had conquered England.

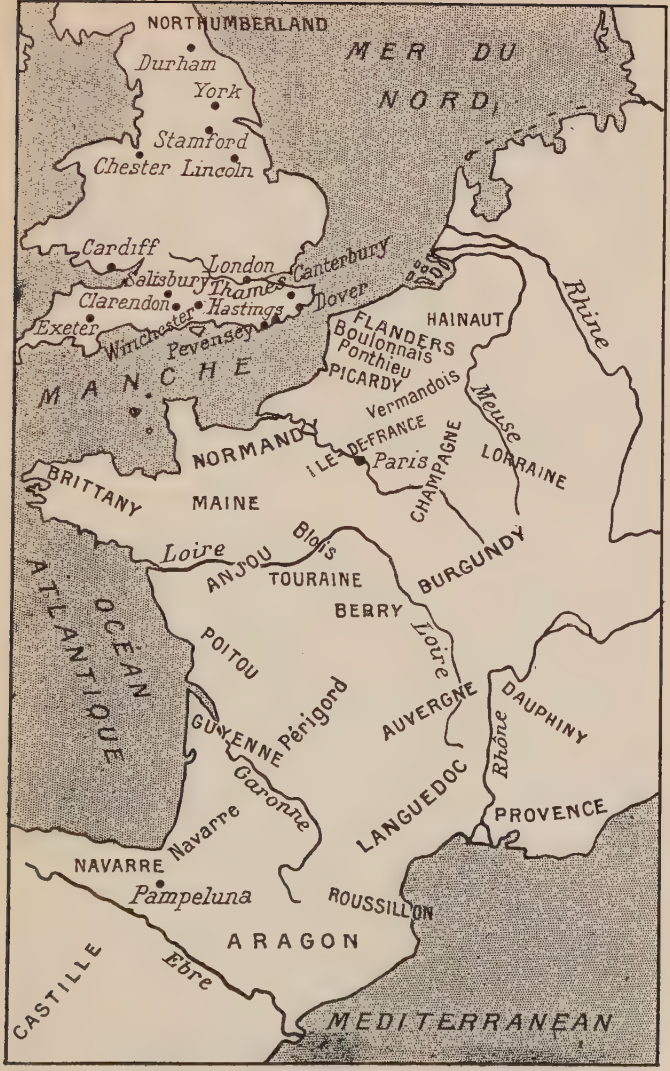
In 1067 there was a revolt against William in the southwest of England. Exeter was the rebel stronghold. William took it. Later Chester rebelled, and William made a notable forced march there in the heart of winter. Chester fell and, after Chester, it was Ely's turn. But in the north of England, in Northumberland, the resistance was more stubborn. There Edwin and Morkere, the brothers-in-law of Harold, were aided by the king of Scotland and by the Danes.

The Danes by this time had quite forgotten or ignored their kinship with the Normans. Three times William had to go into Northumberland to suppress rebellions and the third time he laid waste the country between York and Durham in a way to rival the raids of Attila. His conscience always troubled him about that last campaign in the north. He finally went on beyond Northumberland into Scotland where he forced King Malcolm, who had married the sainted Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, to do homage to the new king of England.

William had a passion for order. The best evidence we have of this is the celebrated Domesday Book in which are recorded the results of a remarkable survey and census he had made of English property. That survey investigated and recorded all titles to land and reported all buildings, livestock, and human beings in the length and breadth of the land. In connection with this survey, Normans as well as English were dispossessed if their titles were found faulty. Domesday Book, recorded on parchment, is the most treasured of English public documents.

When the survey was finished, William summoned to Salisbury Plain the landholders of England. There he required of all a direct oath of allegiance to him. He had brought the feudal system to England, but, as we may see from the oath of Salisbury Plain, the one he brought was a considerable improvement on the French model. He established at once a direct dependence upon the king for authority that it took two centuries for the Capetians to establish in France.

The Norman barons thought William was altogether too fair to the English. They claimed that he should have cleaned them out completely instead of just considerably, and they kept up the clamor of their claims. It came to be, in the later days of his reign, that William had more trouble with the companions of his



A sketch of France and England in the time of the Conqueror

victory than he had with the vanquished. He also had trouble with his own family. It is a wonder he ever had so much patience with Odo, his stupid and brutal half-brother. Several times he left the government of England in Odo's hands while he himself was in Normandy, and every time there was trouble. Odo finally formed an army of his own with the idea of making himself pope. He must have been crazy! William ordered his arrest, but no one dared lay hands on a bishop who was also brother of the king, so the king had to do the arresting himself. The odious Odo was then confined in Rouen as long as William lived.

The eldest son of the king was Robert, nicknamed Short-Boots. He was not wicked, but he was foolish. When his father, for good reasons, would not let him govern Normandy, he ran away to the court of Philip of France. There he joined in intrigues against his father.

The only real aid and support William had in his work was from the clergy. He replaced Stigand, the Saxon bishop of Canterbury, by Lanfranc, a monk of Normandy, and Lanfranc was a real man. Lombard by birth, he began his career as a monk at the abbey of Bec, not far from Rouen. There he became prior. His wisdom and virtue attracted many scholars to the abbey. It became a famous center of learning. The tower of the old abbey at Bec is still there, one of the most beautiful in Normandy. Jealous fellow churchmen did all they could to undermine Lanfranc, but he suited William who put him in charge of the great « Abbey of Men » he had undertaken to build at Caen. Caen has had a reputation as a university city ever since Lanfranc lived there. St-Stephen (*St-Etienne*), the church of the Abbey of Men, is one of the greatest monuments of Norman architecture. It stands in Caen as solidly as when it was built nearly nine hundred years ago, and it is in use to this day. No other monument speaks

more eloquently of the rugged character and the indomitable strength of William, its builder. At the other end of the city stands the church of the « Abbey of Women »; it was built by Queen Matilda and she is buried there. These two abbeys were founded by William and Matilda by way of persuading the pope to pardon them for breaking the church rule against cousins marrying each other.

William's appointment of Lanfranc as archbishop of Canterbury was the best appointment he made. Lanfranc placed his bishops in important cities where they were very useful in restraining the injustices of Norman lords. He gave to the Church in England much more of unity and of vigor than it had before.

The Conqueror's last campaign was against the king of France. His beloved Matilda died in 1083, his eldest son rebelled against him, and there was even more than that to embitter the later days of this lonely man. You will recall that Robert the Devil took the French Vexin as price of services when he helped Henry I to the throne of France. After the death of the Devil, and during the troubled boyhood of William, Henry quietly took this territory back. William had never reclaimed it, and perhaps he never would have reclaimed it except for the aid and comfort that Philip of France gave to his rebellious son, Robert Short-Boots.

In the summer of 1087 he started on an expedition to recover the Vexin. On his way he fell ill at Rouen. He had become very heavy. When Philip heard that William was ill, he said something about him that he never would have dared say if William had been well. He said something that reflected on the duke's figure. Someone foolishly repeated Philip's remark to William. William at once arose from his bed and started for Paris. He was very angry. When he came into French territory he destroyed the ripe grain in the fields, and when he came to Mantes, he burned it.

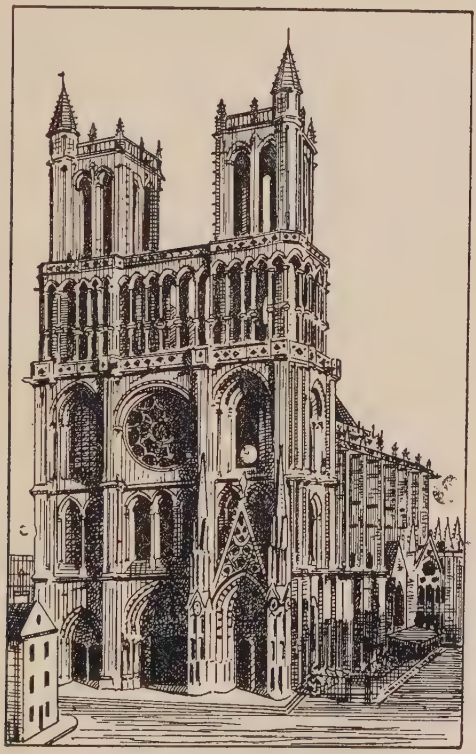
Galloping through the embers of the burning city, his horse stumbled and threw him violently against the pommel of the saddle. Gravely injured, he fell to the ground. They took him back to Rouen and there, a few weeks later, he died.

Wrong gives the following account of the death of the Conqueror : « His mind was clear to the last. He had been always sincerely religious, and now with the deep sense of sin, which is so profound a trait of his

The Conqueror received his death wound at the burning of Mantes.

age, he saw and acknowledged the evil of his life. He ordered Mantes to be rebuilt from his immense hoards, bequeathed gifts to God for the bloodshed he had caused in England, and admitted that he had no rightful claim to its crown. When a king died in those days, law and order died too, until a new king established his authority. William's attendants stripped his body almost naked, seized what they could, and rushed away to guard their own interests. The dead Conqueror was carried to Caen for burial. In the midst of the funeral service, a burgher claimed that William had robbed him of the land in which the interment was to take place, and the service stopped until the claim was

settled. The incidents are characteristic of the age. Everywhere we meet violence, but we meet, too, the



Notre-Dame of Mantes.

constraining power of a religion that had real terrors for the sinful. »

The railroad lines to Paris from Havre and from Cherbourg meet at Mantes, so, at whichever of these ports of France you land, you are sure to pass on your

way to Paris through that little city, *Mantes la jolie*, where William received his death wound. And, as you pass beyond it, if you look back to the left, you will see standing there in the middle of the valley a beautiful church, the church of Notre-Dame of Mantes. That church, whose graceful open towers have stood there for centuries, a lovely ornament of the valley of the Seine, is the church for whose rebuilding William provided as he lay dying at Rouen.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

MOSTLY ABOUT WILLIAM II, HENRY I AND LOUIS THE FAT.

A second William, a second son, succeeds his father. He was rough and red, and sold heiresses to the highest bidder. An arrow struck him down. Young Henry hurries and becomes king while Brother Robert is away. Robert comes marching home from a honeymoon, loses even Normandy, and writes poetry in prison. Henry gets the best of Louis of France, but, after a shipwreck, he never smiled again.

Norman kings of England.	*Contemporary kings in France.*
William I. 1066-1087.	Philip I. 1060-1108.
William II Rufus. 1087-1100.	Louis VI the Fat. 1108-1137.
Henry I Beau Clerc. 1100-1135.	

William, dying at Rouen, made provision that his eldest son, the romantic and rebellious Robert, should not succeed him as king of England. He dictated a letter to Lanfranc in which he indicated his desire that the crown should go to his second son, William called Rufus, the Red. The Conqueror did not formally designate a successor. He left the matter entirely in the hands of Lanfranc, the one man he knew he could trust.

William, one feels, might have been more appreciated in modern days than he was then. Great man of your time, mortally stricken and lying on a lonely death bed at Rouen, but man enough to offer no complaint and to occupy yourself to the very last in doing all you could to set your kingdom in order, Conqueror,

would that you might have from us across the ages some message of esteem. You had your faults God knows, but we think that God forgave them. For you kept brightly alive to the very end that high courage and, withal, that charity of spirit without which mankind slips so swiftly back toward the mire. Sit then in your Olympic seat, not far from Charlemagne, while lesser mortals of a later age admire you. So rare was a man like you in the days you lived that your only colleague of the mind was a worthy priest, and to-day how many are your equal?

William understood perfectly that if his second son came to be king of England, Robert, his eldest, would in all probability become duke of Normandy. He felt sorry for Normandy, but there seemed no way out of it. Robert was still at the court of Philip of France. Philip would doubtless sustain him as duke while discouraging him from attempting to become king. The king of France would be only too happy to have his vassal duke of Normandy cease to be a king at the same time.

William Rufus carried his father's letter to England, gave it to Lanfranc, and Lanfranc, as archbishop of Canterbury, crowned William at Westminster Abbey. Nobody objected to this procedure. The people of England apparently left it to the archbishop to decide who would be their next king. Evidently national life at that time was weak and the position of the Church very strong.

The ruddy William had a violent and godless career. The historian Wrong describes him as « a strong, fat, red-faced monarch with restless eyes and profane tongue, who violated the decencies. »

He never married, and he kept himself surrounded by deplorable characters. He had something of his father's vigor and daring, but none of his wisdom and

justice. He was much occupied in putting down rebellious Norman barons in England, and in this he was cheerfully helped by the English people. One good thing he did was to administer final defeat and banishment to that objectionable Odo, his father's hoodoo and half-brother, who had been unfortunately let out of jail at Rouen upon William's death. William Rufus abused to the utmost the centralized feudal system his father had established. Whenever a vassal died, he claimed and exercised the right to administer the inheritance. Minor heirs became his wards to their detriment. He disregarded wills, and sold to the highest bidder unmarried women who were land-owners. Under this tyrant it was better not to be a land-owner.

The First Crusade came in 1095 and Robert of Normandy went on it. That Crusade will be described in a later chapter; all that concerns us about it for the moment is that Robert went on it. In order to do this he had to borrow money from his brother, and, as security, left his duchy of Normandy in pawn. Thus, for the last five years of his reign, William Rufus was acting duke of Normandy, and Normandy enjoyed him no more than England did.

The famous New Forest, created by the Conqueror, was a favorite hunting ground of his son and successor. As William was hunting there one day early in August of the year 1100, being at that time « at the height of his defiant career », a well-aimed arrow struck him down. Apparently it was never known who loosed that arrow in its flight, but it is safe to presume that there was another hunter in the New Forest that day, and that the king was the quarry that hunter sought. They carried William's body to Winchester, and laid it in the cathedral there, but he had become in his life such an enemy of the Church that the Church, when he was dead, would not allow to his body a Christian burial.

William had a younger brother, and he too happened to be hunting in the New Forest the day William was struck down. That younger brother was Henry; Henry Smart Scholar, *Beau Clerc*, they called him. He was by much the ablest of the three sons of the Conqueror. Henry now emulated the speed of Harold upon the death of Edward the Confessor. He rode hard and fast to Winchester, seized the royal treasure there, and, three days after the death of his brother, he was crowned at Westminster. His other and elder brother Robert was still far away, having lingered in Italy on his way back from Palestine. He had taken to himself a bride and was on his honeymoon. It was a good thing for England that he was, for, thanks to that honeymoon in Italy, the country now had one of its best kings.

Henry Beau Clerc became Henry the First of England, and not much later he was to become duke of Normandy as well. He won Normandy from Robert who finally came home. Henry I had much to do with the making of history in France as well as in England. His reign, as you have noted at the head of this chapter, was contemporary for twenty-seven years with that of Louis VI of France who, in 1108, succeeded his fat and foolish father Philip I. Louis also was fat. He was called the Fat; *Louis le Gros*. But he was also called *le Batailleur;* the Battler. He and Henry had some fine fights, all in clanging armor, with very few casualties on either side. We shall come to those fights presently.

Henry I was smart enough to know that the best way to keep the crown was to start on a course exactly opposite to that taken by his brother who had lost it. On the very day of his coronation, he issued a charter of liberties. In this charter he was at pains strongly to condemn the government of William Rufus, recently felled by an arrow. The preamble read like what an old fashioned party platform has to state about the

other party. However, this charter of Henry I was the basis of the Great Charter subsequently extracted from King John, and, as such, lives in history. It restored the laws of Edward the Confessor with amendments thereunto made by William the Conqueror. Further to conciliate his English subjects, Henry married Matilda of Scotland, whose mother was the sainted Saxon Margaret, wife of King Malcolm.

Presently Brother Robert came to England marching at the head of some of his fellow crusaders. He had not stopped long in Normandy, but came on over to see about his claim to the throne. It is said that Robert invaded England, but it could not have been much of an invasion; very different, at least, from the one his father led. Robert, as usual, was hard up, and Henry had little difficulty in making a satisfactory arrangement with him. Henry took the line that his claim on Normandy was just as good as any claim of Robert's on England. He agreed to give up his « claim » to Normandy if Robert would go back there and not bother him. Robert went, but there was no joy in Rouen over that. They knew him there.

Robert made a deplorable duke. All he seemed to care about was to raise all the money he could and then waste it. He also made the mistake of harboring certain miscreants his brother Henry had driven with difficulty out of England. Henry had no trouble in finding grounds for intervention in Normandy; in fact, he was welcome there; anything to get rid of Robert.

Soon only Rouen, Caen, Bayeux, and Falaise remained to Robert. Since he had nowhere else to raise money, he came down hard on the burghers of the four faithful cities. The four faithful cities soon tired of this and, we are told, « ended by shutting their gates on Robert's nose ». Henry decided that it was time for Robert, as a ruler, to retire. Louis the Fat, who was ruling

France for his old and feeble father Philip, could not intervene because at that time he was much occupied in suppressing certain rebellious barons on his own territory. So Henry, in September of 1106, fell upon Robert at Tinchebray which lies between Vire and Flers in the picturesque valley of the Noireau. There were English with Henry at that encounter and in England they tried to make out that the victory at Tinchebray avenged the defeat at Hastings. There is still talk of the « Norman host » under Robert that was defeated by an English army under Henry. But others say that there wasn't any Norman host; that in fact most of the Normans stayed at home that day.

In any case, Robert was captured at Tinchebray, and spent the remaining twenty-eight years of his life as a prisoner at the castle of Cardiff in Wales. It was reported that Robert was not being well treated at Cardiff, and the pope made inquiry of Henry about it. Henry claimed that, on the contrary, he was acting as a kindly host to his brother, giving him free lodging in one of his best castles and excellent food. However the bed and board at Cardiff may have been, Robert is credited with being the author of a long poem about an oak-tree that he could see from his prison window there. If there were facilities for writing poetry in his cell, he was better off than most prisoners of his time.

Henry soon put Normandy in order. Many of the most troublesome barons had gone to Palestine with Robert, and only a few of them had come back. Few tears were shed for those who did not. There was at that time at the court of France a son of Robert called William Cliton. For twenty years this Cliton was used as an excuse by disgruntled Norman barons and by the king of France for disputing Henry's right to Normandy. But Henry was always stronger than Louis, for Henry had England at his back. The roles were

now reversed. Normandy had become a dependency of England instead of her master, and the English were ready to fight to retain the country that had conquered them. The only thing that saved Louis was Henry's respect for the feudal system. It was in his interest to respect it. He could not afford to furnish to his own vassals the bad example of an attack upon

The battle of Tinchebray between two sons of the Conqueror. Henry, the younger, won and made Robert his prisoner.

one who was his own suzerain. So he let the attack come from Louis.

Louis, having lost in the first encounter, was compelled in 1113 to sign a treaty at Gisors by which he recognized the suzerainty of Henry over Maine and Brittany as well as over Normandy. This was a bitter pill for Louis. He was a real fighter and hated to admit defeat. A few years later he took a desperate chance and dashed into the Norman Vexin at the head of a small body of troops. He hoped to make at least a successful raid and capture a castle or two. But Henry had a much larger force at hand whose sole duty was to lay for Louis. They met him on the plain between

Ecouis and Fleury-sur-Andelle. Louis was « completely defeated », but that does not mean that there was terrific loss of life. The total number killed on both sides was three. Armor had made the world safe for battles. One of the unlucky three on that day was a soldier who rashly seized King Louis's horse by the bridle, crying out, « The king is taken ». « Don't you know », replied Louis as he swung his trusty battle club and mashed the man, « that even in chess the king is never taken? » Taken or not, Louis lost his horse and his banner in that battle, and, in trying to get away, he almost lost himself in the woods. He finally came out at Andely on the Seine, where later Château-Gaillard was to rise.

The pope decided that the troubles between Louis and Henry had been going on long enough, so he determined to tell them both to behave. He came to France to hear both sides of the case, and to attend to other business. Louis was heard first. He presented himself before a great council at Reims over which the pope presided, and there he made an eloquent speech against Henry. He made a strong impression at that time upon a certain scrivening monk who reported him as « a man of fine physique, though pale and fat, and a very able speech-maker ». Louis's speech was such a success that the council would not listen to the archbishop of Rouen who had come to put in a word for Henry.

The pope, however, refused to be stampeded. He had an interview with Henry at Gisors, Gisors the scene of so many meetings in those early days between defiant delegates of England and of France. Gisors was a frontier fortress of Normandy. It is on the Epte, not far above St-Clair where the treaty that created Normandy was made. The ruins of the old castle there which was begun by William Rufus are very fine ruins; if you go to see them you will agree to

that. The interview at Gisors between Henry and the pope was favorable to Henry. Some have even had the audacity to say that he slipped the pope something. Anyhow, when the successor of St Peter revealed his decision, it was a great disappointment to Louis. Eloquence at Reims lost to gold at Gisors. All Louis won was that the eldest son of Henry was to do homage to him for Normandy, and Louis had all the homage

Louis argued with great eloquence before the pope at Reims.

he wanted already. He was sick of homage. What he wanted was more good walled towns and prosperous tax-payers.

A few months later a great calamity befell the family of Henry, a calamity that was to have important effects in both France and England. The king was on his way back to England with his court, and was about to embark at Barfleur. At the last moment the captain of a ship came running up, saying he was the son of the man who had piloted Henry's father across the Channel when he went to the conquest of England. He now begged the honor of taking the king to England on his own ship called the *White Nave*. Henry had already made other arrangements, but, to be obliging, he let both his sons and one of his daughters go aboard

the *White Nave* with all their suite of noble ladies and gentlemen. It was a calm, moonlit evening; there seemed to be no danger. But the young princes made the mistake of handing around too much wine to the crew, and then urged them to try to overtake the ship the king was on that had started out ahead. To shorten the course, trusting too much to the bright moonlight, the sailors took the ship among dangerous reefs. They struck violently on one of them, the ship sank rapidly, and all of the three hundred passengers were lost except a butcher boy of Rouen who lived to tell the tale. A child was sent to break the news to King Henry, who, when he heard it, fainted away from grief. It is said that the king, already a widower, never smiled again.

This catastrophe made the succession to the throne of England very uncertain. Henry's only remaining child was a girl who was named Matilda after her mother. She had been married to Henry V, the emperor of Germany, when she was very young. He died, and then Henry arranged a marriage between the young widow and the eldest son of the count of Anjou. That son was Geoffrey the Handsome. It was he who was called Plantagenet for the sprig of gorse he wore instead of a feather in his cap.

Louis of France and Henry of England died within two years of each other, good enemies to the end. There is more about Louis in the next chapter but one.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

THE FIRST CRUSADE.

Cries of distress from Constantinople fall on deaf ears. The lords were weak in political geography, but responded readily to religious reasons for the rescue of Jerusalem. The pope preached a Crusade and Peter the Hermit put it over. Peter becomes a popular hero and many march toward the mysterious east. Crusaders, irritated by the Greeks, take it out on the Seljuk Turks, a particularly fierce kind of Turk. Antics at Antioch nearly prove fatal. Homesick knights long for « the sweet country of France ».

The Crusades were not as simple as they seem. A crusader was one who took the cross and joined a Crusade for the ostensible purpose of rescuing the Holy Sepulchre from the infidel. But there was much more to the Crusades than the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre. There was, for one thing, the rescue of Christendom from the threat of another Moslem invasion like the one in the Eighth Century that ended only on the soil of France, south of Poitiers. One French historian, having recalled the days of Charles Martel, goes so far as to say that the Crusades, although in appearance offensive expeditions, were in reality defensive.

Christendom in the Eleventh Century was weak on its eastern side. Leadership of the world of Islam had passed from the original Arabs who swept across northern Africa, conquered Spain, and were stopped only by the Frankish warriors under Charles Martel. It passed into the hands of a younger, fiercer race, new masters of Bagdad, the Seljuk Turks. The Seljuk Turks moved victoriously across Asia Minor until at last less than a mile of water, the straits of the Bos-

phorus, separated them from Europe. Constantinople was threatened. Her emperor « caused all Christian courts to re-echo with his cries of distress ».

Constantinople, you will recall, was made by Constantine the capital of the eastern Roman empire. But it was more Greek than Roman. The empire whose capital it was, was also called Byzantium, from which the word Byzantine, familiar in art and architecture. The Greek empire was another of this ambiguous empire's names, and Constantinople was also called Byzantium.

Assailed by Slavs, Bulgarians, and Hungarians on the north, defeated by the Normans of Italy in the south-west, and now menaced from the south-east by the Turks, the empire that had Constantinople for its capital was a poor bulwark against the tide that was rising. To add to its difficulties, this eastern empire was much troubled within by religious schisms.

The emperor's cries of distress fell on deaf ears in the Christian courts of the west, but after Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Turks and pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre suffered greatly at their hands, the menace rising in the east could no longer be ignored. A holy war was preached. As the Arabs once swept westward in a holy war, so now the knights were to sweep to the east; the cross advanced against the crescent.

Throughout western Europe devotion to the Christian faith had become a nearly instinctive part of human life. That devout, unquestioning faith of millions was like an inflammable stratum that, touched as by fire, was to light up the Continent with flames of fanaticism. The history of humanity has little in it like the First Crusade when a million lives were lost in what was thought to be a holy cause. No other event is more eloquent of the power of faith, or more convincing of the feebleness of reason and the strength of emotion in determining human destiny.

In 1095 a great Church council at Clermont in Auvergne was attended by thousands of knights. There Pope Urban II preached the First Crusade. All that was in the mind of the pope that memorable day may never be known, but it seems clear that much was in his mind beside the recovery of the tomb of Christ for Christian pilgrims. It may have been in his mind that Christendom was already threatened from within by the ruinous private wars of her feudal lords which

Peter the Hermit tells the pope of the sufferings of pilgrims to the Holy Land.

the Church was unable to stop. Certainly he knew of the threat to Christendom from without if the Turks crossed the Bosphorus. So he preached heroic, sacrificial measures, and infidel hands that profaned the Holy Sepulchre gave him a text for that memorable sermon. History hinged on the fact that Christ was buried in Jerusalem. « God wills it! God wills it! » the cry went up, as thousands took the cross.

Beside the pope at Clermont there stood that day a thin, bare-footed monk of Picardy who had recently returned from a pilgrimage. He told of the sufferings of his fellow pilgrims at the hands of the Turks in the Holy Land, and he, more than the pope, stirred the

knights by his eloquence. That lean, dark-visaged monk, whose shining eyes and long dark beard framed burning lips, was Peter the Hermit. To few men has it been given to set the whole world in commotion as Peter did. From Clermont he carried his eloquence on donkey-back throughout the king's realm in France, into Lorraine, and over the Rhine. Such was his success in rousing the people that even the hairs of his donkey became sacred relics. In his voice the people heard the voice of a prophet and asked but to follow where he might lead. He was the center of an explosion of enthusiasm that spread far beyond his travels, into England and to Italy.

The pope pardoned the sins of all who took the cross and excommunicated whoever might steal their property in their absence. This feature of the movement did much to popularize it, especially among the nobles. Many barons who had accumulated heavy burdens of sin put all their possessions in pawn in order to outfit for the great undertaking. Serfs went and were not stopped.

The nobles made elaborate and prolonged preparations for departure, but the common people and some poor knights could not wait. In the spring of 1096 a multitude, some say of fifty and some of a hundred thousand, started on their terrific journey, following Peter the Hermit. There was an advance guard led by a Norman knight, Walter the Penniless. Walter, it is said, had fifteen thousand men, but only eighteen horses. Peter and his multitude came straggling after. Of them Duruy writes :

« Women, children, and old men accompanied their husbands, fathers, and sons, and the little ones, placed on bullock carts, were heard to cry on seeing a castle or town, « Is not that Jerusalem? » They passed through Germany, slaughtering the Jews whom they met on the way, pillaging everywhere to secure food, and

becoming accustomed to a life of licence. In Hungary the disturbances reached such a pitch that the population took arms and drove the crusaders into Thrace after having killed many of them. Only a small number reached Constantinople. The Emperor Alexis, to free himself of such auxiliaries, hastened their passage to Asia. They fell under the sword of the Turks in the plain of Nicea, and their bones served to fortify the camp of later crusaders. »

Peter, standing beside the pope at Clermont, preaches the First Crusade.

Later, the nobles started. Their highly picturesque army was divided into three corps. One, composed of nobles of the north of France and Germany, was led by Godfrey, Duke of Bouillon and lower Lorraine; that corps followed the valley of the Danube. The knights of southern France and northern Italy followed the count of Toulouse through Lombardy, Dalmatia, and Thrace. The third corps, composed of Normans of the Two Sicilies and of Normandy took ship from Italy under the leadership of Bohémond, son of Robert Guiscard. With the Normans went Robert, eldest son of William the Conqueror.

The rendezvous was Constantinople. There, in

the spring of 1097, one hundred thousand knights and six hundred thousand foot soldiers are said to have joined Peter the Hermit and the remnants of his massacred multitude. Even in the time of the great invasions, no such human mass as that had moved together. The hospitality of Constantinople was strained to the breaking point. Again the emperor was glad to speed his guests upon their way.

It is said of the crusaders and of the Greeks that it was a case of hate at first sight. The Greeks fleeced the knights, and the first act of the First Crusade nearly ended in the pillage of Constantinople, Only Godfrey of Bouillon, the bravest and most pious of them all, saved the situation: others advised putting an end to « the perfidy of these little Greeks, the most cowardly of mankind ». That was the Norman opinion of them.

At Nicea the Turks were defeated after a siege of thirty-five days. Then the crusaders continued their march across Asia Minor. They took the shortest way to Jerusalem. That way led through deserts in which they were harried by Turkish cavalry and underwent great suffering. They separated into two divisions, one of which was attacked and almost defeated by the Turks. The day was saved only by the courage of Robert of Normandy, and by the timely arrival of the other division led by Godfrey.

Passing through Cilicia, the crusaders finally reached Antioch in October. The siege of this city was, from the military standpoint, the principal feature of this Crusade. The high wall of Antioch had four hundred and fifty towers and was guarded by thirty thousand men. The siege continued for nearly nine months, there was much illness, and things were at a desperate pass when the Norman Bohémond declared he could win the town if it was agreed that it should remain his town. The crafty Norman had bribed an

Armenian captain of Antioch to help him effect an entrance. On a wild and stormy night entrance was effected, and the town put to fire and sword.

Hardly had the noble crusaders begun to relax a little within the captured city before they found the tables turned on them; the besiegers became the be-

The tragic path of the crusaders through the deserts of Asia Minor.

sieged. Another Turkish general, the Sultan Kerbogha, came up with an army of two hundred thousand and hemmed them in. Starvation threatened. Great nobles of France begged for bread in the streets. Finally, an inspired priest declared that in a dream he had seen the lance that pierced the side of Christ buried under the altar of the church, and that it would prove a talisman of victory. They dug for the lance, and, sure enough, there was one. Straightway they marched forth

with great enthusiasm and destroyed the army of the Sultan Kerbogha.

It was nearly a year later that the crusaders, then only fifty thousand strong, at last climbed the last hill and looked down on Jerusalem. A monk who was one of them wrote, « Dear Jesus, when the Christians saw

There was a terrific massacre of infidels in the streets of Jerusalem.

the Holy City, how their eyes filled with tears! Loud cries rent the air. 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem! God wills it, God wills it!' They spread out their arms, fell down on their knees, and kissed the ground. »

After a month's preparation, the final attack was made. By means of movable towers, a breach was made in the walls, and, on the following day, Godfrey and Tancrède led the way through the breach. Then a fanatical madness overcame their followers. Seventy

thousand Mussulmans were massacred and thousands of Jews. Women and children were not spared. Godfrey alone kept cool. Unarmed, with bare feet, he entered the Holy Sepulchre and prayed. His comrades followed and imitated him, lifting to heaven their bloody hands.

To secure the results of the Crusade, four Christian principalities were founded of which the most important were Jerusalem under Godfrey and Antioch under Bohémond. Feudal organization was perfected, fiefs granted, and European colonies developed in the cities along the shore. But the great body of the knights returned home, and those who remained quarrelled among themselves and with the Greeks. Hardly three hundred knights remained with Godfrey. So great had been the losses, and so much had the popular enthusiasm abated, that fifty years passed before another Crusade went to the relief of the Christians in Palestine.

The First Crusade accomplished much more than the taking of Jerusalem. Far more important in its effects upon the history of France than any military accomplishment was the partnership of her people in this great adventure. The Crusade did much to break down feudal barriers and to establish national feeling. Old enemies rode together as brothers into the mysterious east; brothers in Christ, they fought together to redeem their Savior's tomb. Far from the fatherland they became conscious of its common tie; on long desert marches there was born again a feeling of fellowship as Frenchmen that had been lost for centuries. By dim camp-fires under the desert stars homesick crusaders listened longingly to the songs of the troubadours, and the song they loved the best told of « the sweet country of France ».

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

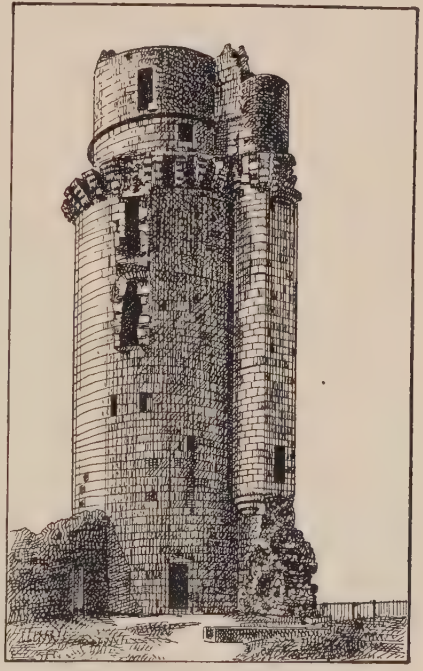
LOUIS THE FAT LOVED FIGHTS. SOME SUGER.

Lance in hand, the king rides to battle. Previous Capetians laid low, but not so Louis. He fought the lords and befriended the lowly. Suger was the Cicero of Saint-Denis. You should see the church he built. The First Crusade purges the kingdom of many pests. Louis raises the oriflamme and the German emperor retreats.

In the last chapter but one certain encounters between Henry the First of England and Louis the Fat of France were touched upon. We have now finished with Henry, but the corpulent king of France merits further comment. Besides those with Henry, he had many other fights. Louis may have been « pale and fat », as reported at Reims, but his life was vivid and his days were filled with deeds of daring. What makes him so interesting was that he was so brave ; so brave and so rash.

We have noted that the first four Capetians lay low. It was not so with Louis. As a boy he had had quite enough of seeing the royal domains encroached upon and imperilled by nobles who were more bandits than noblemen. As king, even as crown prince, he took lance in hand and charged upon them whenever he could, whoever they were and wherever he found them. He had a passion as king to be really king, and could endure no lawlessness, no thwarting of the royal authority, if it was in any way within his power to suppress it. He rushed headlong to the shock of encounter, rarely stopping to reckon the odds there might be against him. That dash of his into Normandy, when,

at the head of a mere handful of men, he ran full tilt into an English army, was characteristic of Louis. He had been strongly advised not to make that raid, but his impatience to accomplish things could brook but slight delays.



The tower of Montlhéry on the Orléans road.

The abbot Suger, Louis's own and his son's great minister, wrote of him, « the king was seen unceasingly riding with a few knights to introduce order as far as the frontiers of Berry, Auvergne, and Burgundy, from which it clearly appeared that the efficacy of royal virtue was not contained within the limits of any definite place ». « Ever on horseback », wrote Duruy, « lance in hand, Louis fought untiringly against the nobles who plundered travellers or pillaged the property of the Church, and succeeded in introducing a certain amount of order and security into his narrow domain of the Ile-de-France.»

Hardly twelve miles farther on, after you have left

one of the southern gates of Paris and ride toward Orléans, you see rising above the plain on your left an ancient tower. It is the tower of Montlhéry, all that remains save a few worn ramparts of a great castle that stood there long ago, a castle whose noble master once took heavy toll of travellers who passed that way. Years later the eleventh Louis Capet had to fight near the old tower of Montlhéry to win his way through to Paris, but the sixth Louis had to fight there even to get out of Paris. Climb to the top of that tower and you will see, unfolded before you, one of the loveliest views in all the Ile-de-France. Not far away, upon an upland that rises to the south and west, there is a great development, fortunately inconspicuous in the view from the tower, that is as modern as the old tower upon which you stand is medieval. That is the new *autodrome* of Linas-Montlhéry where cars at furious speed have broken many records. Louis would have loved it.

One day when he was a boy his father took him for a ride beyond the southern gates. They did not go far; that was not safe. In the days of Philip, the king of France himself was none too secure when he went into the country. The old king and the young prince came to the top of a gentle rise from which the high tower of Montlhéry can be seen. As they reined to a halt, the king said, « My dear son, that tower you see over there is the tower of a castle that has given me great trouble. I have grown old in fighting for it and attacking it. (Philip was flattering himself there.) Whatever you do, be sure to keep Montlhéry in order. » Philip the First may have been lazy and foolish and fat, but, if he gave lessons like that to his spirited son, he did do some good.

The policy of the first Capetians of lying low was carried so very low by Philip that, when Louis came to power, the royal domain had little left to it except

Paris, Melun, Orléans, Sens, and the lands dependent thereupon. Between these four cities that remained the personal property of the crown various strong castles stood, and the lords of those castles were noble bandits who ruled the roads for miles around. For king's letters ordering unmolested passage they had no respect whatsoever. Montlhéry was not the only tower where a sentinel was kept on the look-out for travellers of interesting appearance. The king did not control the communications even between the few cities that remained to him. « The ambition of the king of France at the beginning of the Twelfth Century was to be able to go without hindrance from Paris to Orléans. » Little lords of his own domain defied him on his own roads, while great lords who lived farther away on domains broader than the paltry royal acres scorned him almost completely. Some of them might admit that there was such a thing as occasional titular homage due to a king who lived in Paris, but that was just a form for the sake of keeping up a useful system. The system conferred a high-sounding title upon a king, but, as it worked out in France, the power was with the lords. Let the king try to interfere with affairs in Burgundy, in Flanders, in Champagne or in Normandy, and he would promptly discover who the real masters were.

Thus, when the sixth Louis was crowned, the homage due the Capetians was rapidly coming to resemble the long hair of the Merovingians. It was little more than a sign that a tradition was being kept alive. This fact was helpful to Louis in connection with the first stout blows he struck to gain his rights. The powerful lords were too powerful then to take those first blows seriously ; they failed to see in them any menace to themselves. They were blows against the little fellows who lived within the confines of the king's own domain. Of course he had a right to put his own house in order.

We can imagine the really great dukes and counts saying one to another, if they got together, something like this : « Have you heard the latest about our new little king ? What a game young rooster he is ! I hear he has been cleaning up a lot of those hold-up hellions on the roads around Paris. Serves those birds right! Perhaps they won't bother me when I go up, if I do go up, to do that homage stunt. The wife says we ought to go, but I'm against it. It's funny what the women see in Paris. But he's a good little king. I'm glad we've got a live one at last. May be we had better go and have a look at him. »

Doubtless today the real powers that be get similar chuckles out of the performances of some of our modern reformers. Things have not changed as much as you may think. The real power is still likely to be somewhere else than with the gentleman who has the title to it.

Louis was a strong supporter of the Church throughout his reign. He was also a friend of the common people, especially when abuses of the common people gave him useful excuse for attacking some lord in the interest of his own enlargement. In his sentiments regarding the Church and the people, he was greatly influenced by that good man Suger who deserves at least a couple of paragraphs on his own account.

Suger and Louis went to school together at the abbey of St-Denis. Suger came from a family of low degree, but it was already time for certain failing families of high degree to be strengthened by the advent into authority of brains nurtured nearer the soil. In the case of Suger, as in so very many historic cases, the state was saved by the strength and wisdom that seems to persist only among those who have the advantage of low estate. Suger had an intelligence and a logical eloquence that made his fellow students call him Cic-

ero. He became head of the abbey of St-Denis, and Louis put all ecclesiastical affairs in the kingdom under his direction. In the last seven years of Louis's reign Suger was practically prime minister, and when Louis was succeeded by his son, the seventh Louis, Suger's authority was continued and even increased. When the seventh Louis went away on a Crusade, it was Suger who ran the kingdom in the king's absence. As regent he was a great keeper of order and watchdog of the treasury, out of which he provided for the Cru-

The abbey school at Saint-Denis.

sade as well as for the regular expenses. He also showed vigor and ability in suppressing certain rebellious bishops and nobles who thought they might put something over on the abbot while the king was away. When the king came back, he conferred upon Suger the title « father of the fatherland ».

Suger greatly increased the importance and the prosperity of the abbey of St-Denis. It was under him that the abbey church there, the one in which the kings of France were buried, took on its present form. That church you certainly should visit if you have read this far. Today the sightliness of its situation has been seriously affected by what is called industrial development, but it used to rise majestically

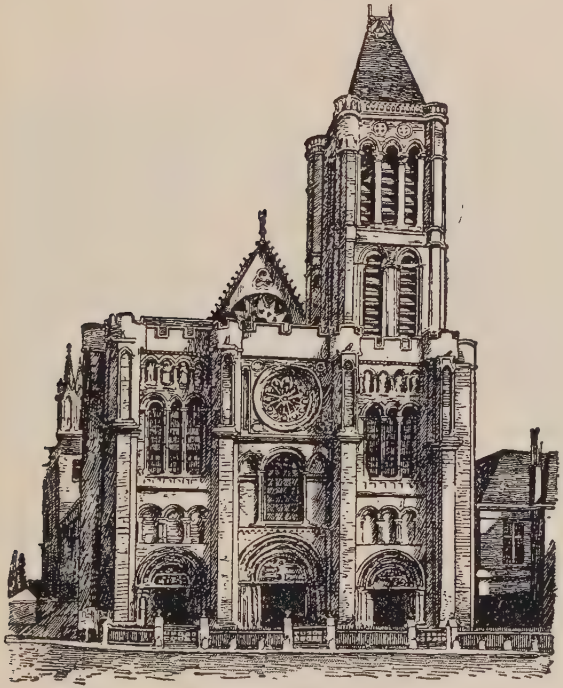
in the midst of the plain of St-Denis, and it rises there yet even though its majesty has been somewhat obscured by factory smoke. No other church, no other building whatsoever, can give you such a lesson in the history of France as this church that Suger built, that royal crypt of the house of France where her kings long lay within their sculptured tombs. The tombs remain, but the dust of the kings was swept away in the same storm that carried the sixteenth Louis to the guillotine.

When Suger rebuilt the basilica of Saint-Denis, he preserved only the crypt and a few columns of the earlier structure. His work was done toward the middle of the Twelfth Century and revealed the beginnings of the Gothic tendency in ecclesiastical architecture, along with considerable preservation of the Romanesque. The facade was consecrated in 1140 and the choir in 1144; these parts remain essentially as Suger left them.

Indirectly, the First Crusade greatly helped Louis the Fat and Suger in putting Louis's little personal kingdom in order, and in extending its authority. We have already noticed how, similarly, it helped Henry the First in cleaning up the mess that Robert made in Normandy; it helped him by accomplishing the permanent removal of a number of barons whose removal was not regretted. In the case of Louis, the great hegira to Jerusalem weakened the strength of opposition that otherwise might have overthrown him.

William the Conqueror undoubtedly whispered that magic word booty when he was preaching a sort of crusade to England, and it is possible that the same idea was suggested, at least by implication, by the saintly preachers of the Crusades to the Holy Land. Why not? Certainly it was better for the noble bandits to loot abroad than to loot at home. When robber barons and other robbers became very troublesome, and there was no convenient constabulary available to

suppress them, one scheme that sometimes effected their riddance was to suggest that they could get more and better booty elsewhere, and even to lead them to it.



The abbey church of Saint-Denis where the kings of France were buried.

They usually had to be shown to be convinced. Thus, in a later day, the great Duguesclin, taking his cue from the Conqueror and the Crusades, led the « free companies », that ravaging residue of the Hundred Years' war, out of France into Spain.

By vigorous attacks Louis suppressed the lords of Montlhéry, of Puiset, of Montmorency, of Marle, and of Coucy. These lords had been supported in their insubordination by Bertrade de Montfort, that stepmother of Louis's whom his father had stolen from the count of Anjou. Coucy is another of the ruins you

In the siege of Puiset by Louis the Battler a powerful priest led in an assault on the stockade.

should visit. It is on a hill not far from Soissons. It once had towers that were a hundred feet high and walls that were thirty feet thick. Coucy was very imposing and majestic on its little hill before German gunnery revealed what modern artillery can do to medieval walls, even though they be thirty feet thick. The war ruined the ruin of Coucy.

Having cleaned up the little fellows, Louis the Battler went after bigger game. He attacked with some suc-

cess the redoutable Thibaut, Count of Champagne and of Blois, and a nephew of Henry of England. Thibaut was the chief plotter against the growing power of the house of France. Thanks to the power of his uncle, he was able to make it about an even break between himself and Louis.

The bishop of Clermont had trouble with the count of Auvergne, and Louis took the bishop's part. Wil-

Suger places the oriflamme of Saint-Denis in the hands of Louis.

liam, Duke of Aquitaine, was suzerain of the count of Auvergne, and marched to the support of his vassal. Duke William discovered, however, that Louis was stronger than he thought when he left Toulouse, so he made up with him. About ten years later the duke's granddaughter, Eleanor of Aquitaine, married the son of Louis. We are going to hear much more about Eleanor.

The campaigns of Louis in Normandy have already been touched upon. His attacks there on Henry were certainly gallant enough, and missed success only through lack of enough troops. However, in the later part of his reign Louis organized a combination that

could have put a real army in the field against Henry, and he might have succeeded at that time in his ambition with reference to Normandy except that Henry's son-in-law, Henry V, the German emperor, prepared to invade the Ile-de-France. This invasion was at the request of his father-in-law in England. Louis « raised the oriflamme of St-Denis » and called on all his vassals to come to his aid in repelling the German invader. They came in such numbers that the imperial invader recrossed the Rhine without even waiting to see the oriflamme, whatever that was[1].

In Louis's time the nominal suzerainty of the king extended over nearly all the area that the treaty of Verdun had awarded to Charles the Bald, but, as we have noted, that suzerainty was extremely nominal over most of that territory. Outside of the Ile-de-France, vast feudal possessions extended in every direction. To the north the counties of Boulogne and Vermandois were but outposts of the powerful count of Flanders whose domain was quite as large as the royal one and much richer and more populous. There was order in Flanders and important businesses flourished there. Off to the east, beginning no farther away than Meaux, ruled the great house of Champagne, while to the west and south extended, between the little duchy of France and the sea, the great and growing continental possessions of the king of England.

Then there were the dukes of Burgundy and of Aquitaine. Among these big fellows, Louis looked the least of the lot. Yet he held his own against Champagne and against Aquitaine, and, when Charles the

1. It was, as you probably have guessed, a banner, a banner like a golden flame. Originally the banner of Saint-Denis, it became the royal standard. Whenever he went to war, the king took it down from its place beside the high altar. It was of flame-colored silk with its ends slit into points like a swallow's tail. Mounted on a golden lance, it sometimes flickered in the breeze like a tongue of flame.

Good, the count of Flanders, was assassinated at Bruges in 1127, Louis showed disregard of the power of Henry by stepping in and installing as successor that William Cliton, son of Robert of Normandy, for whom he had unsuccessfully tried to recover his (William's) father's duchy. Generously he handed Flan-

On one of his campaigns Louis swam the Indre, inviting his men to follow.

ders to Cliton instead of Normandy, but Cliton was not man enough to keep it.

They called Louis the Fat, and he was fat, but we should try to overcome prejudice against him on that account. Abraham Lincoln is an exception and Woodrow Wilson an example to support the assertion that the fat men of history are more interesting than the lean ones. The fat ones are usually more interesting because they seem to have possessed so much more in common with the rest of us humans. The fat ones were inclined to light-hearted fellowship, but the thin ones generally stood aloof and took themselves too seriously to make hearts warm toward them.

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

LOUIS THE FAT AND THE COMMUNES. YOUNG LOUIS SUCCEEDS HIS FATHER. HIS SPRIGHTLY WIFE ELEANOR.

This chapter starts with charters. Towns wrest new rights from reluctant rascals. A bishop withdraws a charter and is chopped down. A king burns a church full of people, goes on a Crusade, and gets a divorce. His wife, loose along the Loire, loses would-be lovers, preferring a prize at Poitiers. She marries Henry Plantagenet, which is bad news for her ex-husband.

During the reign of Louis the Fat important developments occurred in connection with the communes, commune meaning a town or city with its dependent lands. We have already considered in Chapter Nineteen something of the development of the towns that began under the later Carolingians. In feudal times this growth continued; the reasons favoring residence within castle or city walls remained valid. It was no more comfortable to live in the unprotected countryside than it had been before, perhaps even less so. So the towns grew and changed in character even though conditions out in the country changed but little. The peasants continued to plow and to reap and to do whatever else their lords required, much as their fathers had done before them; they had little idea of what was going on in the world beyond their fields. Rural life in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries remained practically what it had been in the Eleventh.

In the towns, however, things were different. Ideas

were stirring there as well as men-at-arms and artisans. The Crusades greatly helped business, and with prosperity there came propaganda. In the development of the independence of towns in France there were two distinct types. In the south that development followed Roman lines familiar there, and was in advance of its counterpart in the north. In the north, with which we are more concerned, ideas that came from Germany were the chief factors in the gradual lightening by the towns of their feudal yoke.

The idea of the guilds came from over the Rhine. Guild was the name taken by associations of fellow tradesmen; associations that were formed to protect the mutual interests of their members. Guilds of the same town came to be grouped into associations of guilds in which all members took an oath « in common » to resist abuses by the lords. From that oath in common came the word commune, which thus primarily denoted an oath of alliance by members of the guilds.

In this connection Watson wrote : « Many were the bloody encounters the townsmen had to wage with the nobles. Victory changed sides with painful frequency. Many a nameless hero fought, in those dim ages, for the sacred rights of common humanity, and gave his life for the advancement of the people. To nerve those rude, unlettered townsmen to combine against the frowning castle and its haughty, mail-clad chieftain required eloquence like that of Mirabeau and courage like that of Cæsar. If we were asked to trace back to its origin the liberties of modern France, we should certainly seek it among the unheralded heroes who first roused the town to resist the castle.

« Not a single one of the liberties we enjoy was conceived in America. Each and every one of them was cradled in the Old World. The true heroes are not those whose names blazon the march of great thought and great principles as they burst into final

success. The true heroes lie in unmarked graves beneath the accumulated oblivion of bygone ages. Their brains cradled the daring thought at a time when it was treason, and their lips proclaimed it when the gibbet or the dungeon or the stake was almost certain to be their doom. »

The communes directed their energies toward obtaining charters which would definitely define relations between the towns and their feudal masters. Without such charters they were entirely at the mercy and caprice of the lords. Charters were, of course, difficult to get. The lords were much opposed to the commune idea; vested interests, then as always, were quick to scent any danger that might diminish their powers. However, certain precedents for charters were established by purchase or otherwise, and certain pressures could be brought to bear. The burghers of the communes did not start by asking for what was unreasonable. At the beginning they did not seek real independence; they sought only real definition of their duties. Often they made it seem to the interest of their lord to give them a charter, in that, under the charter, they would undertake to pay regular taxes and to make themselves liable for defined services, thus saving the lord the difficulties that usually accompanied his irregular and often ill-timed demands. Under the new arrangement he would know just what to expect, and would be saved the trouble of house to house collections. He might even make a budget. In return for such undertakings on their part, the communes asked for the right to govern themselves as to local administration and to make certain municipal improvements, particulary as to walls, without restraint. Some of them secured charters.

There was sure to be a celebration in the old town

whenever a charter was given out. To the towns-people it was like a declaration of emancipation. It called for a heavy annual remittance, with a particularly large one paid in advance, but it seemed worth that. Now the towns-people were free to govern themselves as they saw fit. No longer had the lord any right to

As it was in the towns in the Middle Ages. The belfry of the town hall is seen in the background.

interfere in local affairs. Heretofore they had lived in a state of constant anxiety and uncertainty, not knowing at what hour the bailiffs of the castle might be upon them with some new exaction. Now they could lift up their heads and take some pride in the little city. They elected a town council, a mayor, municipal judges, tax-collectors and dog-catchers. Now they had the right to meet in public assemblies, and to speak freely, at least about the dog-catcher.

They fixed up the city walls or built new ones, and organized a militia of the commune. They built a city hall hard by the market place. The city hall was sometimes a truly magnificent structure, and from it there always arose a high clock and bell tower. A sentinel, on duty at the top of the tower, scanned the landscape for approaching danger, rang the bell in case of fire, and rang the curfew. Civic pride developed in those days, and it was enhanced, as even today, by lack of travel. There may have been bigger or better cities than yours, but you had not seen them.

Some cities had great trouble in getting charters in the first place, and even more in retaining them after they had them. Thus notably, Laon. The lord of Laon was a bishop. When the business of communes began, many bought their charters from lords who needed ready cash in order to join the fashionable Crusades of that day. But in the case of Laon a Norman gentleman bought Laon; that is to say, he bought the privilege of being bishop there. It appears that bargains in bishoprics were not rare. The name of the Norman who bought Laon was Gaudy, and he did goad the people of the town. He is described as « a passionate and arrogant man, more suited to be a soldier than an ecclesiastic »

Laon, at the time Gaudy bought it in 1106, was a prosperous but disorderly city. It had no charter. Under the new bishop things went so much from bad to worse that the solid business men began to scheme seriously to get a charter. Le Mans, Cambrai, Noyon, Beauvais, and St-Quentin already had them. Why not Laon? The burghers finally got a charter from their new bishop, paying him liberally for it, and then, to make it a particularly good one, had it countersigned by the king. The royal signature was not gratuitous.

A few years later Gaudy, being hard up, persuaded

the king to consent to a withdrawal of the charter so that the burghers would again become taxable at his discretion. Such a howl went up! The towns-people promptly showed what they thought about this withdrawal. Four days after Gaudy announced it they raided his house, cut down the guards, and ran the

« They ran the bishop into a cellar and finished him there with hatchets. »

bishop himself into a cellar where he was felled with an axe and finished with hatchets. Several noble ladies had their clothes badly torn at this time by the women of Laon who were there to see and to take a hand.

It was a mistake to kill the bishop. Poor Laon paid dearly for that misjudged luxury. Louis the Fat probably shed no tears over Gaudy, but he had to have the leaders of the Laon mob hanged. It would

never have done to let the murderers of a bishop go unpunished; if you did, you couldn't tell where that sort of thing would stop. However, in 1128, Laon received a new charter from a new bishop and Louis, for an appropriate fee, cheerfully ratified it. The new bishop was careful not to withdraw it. Laon is one of the most interesting cities of northeastern France. There is a splendid cathedral there.

The attitude of Louis with reference to the communal movement has been misinterpreted. For a long time he was called « the father of the communes ». There is a great picture in the Hôtel de Ville in Paris that portrays the large Louis graciously handing out copies of charters in the manner of a college president handing out diplomas. In the picture Louis is seated on a throne temporarily set up beside the city walls while interesting and lightly-clad people stretch out their hands to get copies, as it were, of the latest extra. This painting by Laurens gives an excellent idea of the fortifications of the city, and of what the Paris styles were at that time, presumably summer time, but it has a tendency to exaggerate the benevolence of Louis.

After Louis had enjoyed for a long time his paternal reputation as to the charters, some one rather recently took it away from him. A patient researcher passed years among dusty archives, and emerged from the dust to announce that he had discovered precisely what might have been figured out in the first place. His discovery was that Louis was for the charters whenever it was in his interest to be for them, and when it wasn't, he wasn't. He was liberal about granting them to towns that lay within the boundaries of his rivals; that undermined his rivals. He was not liberal at all about granting them to towns that lay on his own lands; that would have been to undermine himself. He granted

eight charters and his son granted twenty-five. The fact that Louis's son, who was Louis VII, had a charter-granting score so much larger than his father's shows how the communal movement grew. It also shows that Son Louis, even more than Father Louis, realized, probably because Suger pointed it out to him, the advantage of this charter-granting in increasing royal authority; it put the royally chartered towns on the side of the king as against the lords. It also, and especially, shows that business in the towns had so improved, thanks largely to heavy buying done by prospective Crusaders, that more of them could produce the cash that was such an essential feature of charter-getting.

Louis VII, who succeeded his father in 1137, was called the Young. That name stuck to him even though he outgrew it. It was given to him because he was only seventeen when he was crowned. He was a good boy, but lacked certain talents his father had that were important for a king at that time to possess. The most important talent he lacked was nerve, of which his father had more than enough.

Louis the Young went to school at St-Denis and got excellent marks in deportment. His report card states that he was « without any badness », but he was also without any gift for government. Luckily for him, he started out by leaving all decisions to Suger. Without Suger he might have been another Louis the Pious.

The first important excitement that came up in the new reign was due to an echo in France of the great conflict then going on between the pope and the emperor of that so-called Holy Roman Empire that had such vague and changeable boundaries, but was principally Germany. The pope claimed the right to name and to install, or invest, new bishops wherever they were to be installed or invested. The emperor claimed the con-

trary; he claimed that right for himself within the confines of his own empire. Hard feelings and much fighting resulted from this difference of opinion which historians call « the Quarrel of the Investitures ».

In France the archbishopric of Bourges became vacant and the pope named a successor, but he never succeeded in getting that successor invested. The pope neglected to say anything about the matter to the king of France who had the right at least to be consulted; he had even the right to name a candidate of his own for the pope's consideration. It happened to be his own nephew that the pope named to go to Bourges as archbishop. The nephew went with his uncle's full authority behind him, but he found that to be bishop at Bourges you had to have more than an influential uncle in Rome. No sooner did the nephew get to Bourges than he was chased out again by Louis. Apparently Louis had Suger backing him up in this; all churchmen did not always agree with the pope. Louis chased the pope's nephew into the lands of the count of Champagne, and then recalled that he already had a grudge against that count because of certain feudal service that had not been properly rendered in connection with an expedition to Toulouse. Young Louis, for once in his life, turned really rough. In connection with his roughness, more than a thousand refugees were burned in a church at Vitry; that same Vitry, you remember, where, a long time before, boy friends of Frédégonde had stabbed King Sigebert. The burning of people in a church was altogether too much for good Louis. He stopped all the roughness at once, and began to plan to go on a Crusade to expiate his sins.

Suger may have been in favor of chasing the pope's nephew out of Bourges, but he was strongly opposed to the king's departure on a Crusade. However, a new Crusade was just about to start. St Bernard, at that

time the great leader of the Church, was preaching it, and the emperor had announced that he was going. Louis insisted that he must go too, and Suger, against his better judgment, finally had to give in.

Why did Suger want the king to stay at home? He was perfectly capable of running the kingdom himself in the king's absence; in fact, there would be fewer mistakes made that way. There must have been some other reason. That other reason may have been that, in going, Louis would be leaving a young wife at home, and Suger had judged that young lady. He may have been smart enough to foresee all the trouble that might, and did, grow out of leaving her too long alone. As a matter of fact the young queen did not want to be left at home. She started with all the rest of the gay crowd on the Crusade, but her conduct was not just what you might expect of a queen accompanying a pious husband to the Holy Land. Louis had started on a pilgrimage of expiation, and his wife proceeded to act as though she wanted to make sure that when she got to Jerusalem she too would have something to expiate. Louis sent her back to Suger.

The lively young wife of Louis was, as foretold in the previous chapter, Eleanor of Aquitaine whose marriage with Louis had been arranged by his father. It was on her account that Louis had made a campaign to Toulouse which, as he figured it, should have come to him with Eleanor. The young lady inherited practically all of southeastern and south-central France. She was the big catch of the kingdom. It was a very advantageous marriage for the house of France and Suger was particulary anxious that nothing should go wrong with it.

The Second Crusade was a total loss. We shall tell about it in a later chapter. When Louis finally returned he brought home no honor and he found no

honor at home. Eleanor had been acting terribly. Right away Louis wanted to get a divorce. Smart old Suger did his utmost to prevent the divorce, but Louis finally got it, and away went Eleanor carrying, so to speak, more than half of southern France in her pocket.

It was not to be expected that such a rich and interesting young divorcée would go far without adventure. The divorce was granted at Beaugency which is near Blois on the Loire. Eleanor did not even make it from Beaugency to Bordeaux for which she claimed she was starting. Suitors sprang up on all sides. At Blois the count thereof tried to force her to marry him. She escaped from him in disguise. Then a younger brother of the duke of Normandy tried to kidnap her, but Eleanor was not the lady to be kidnapped unless she wanted to be.

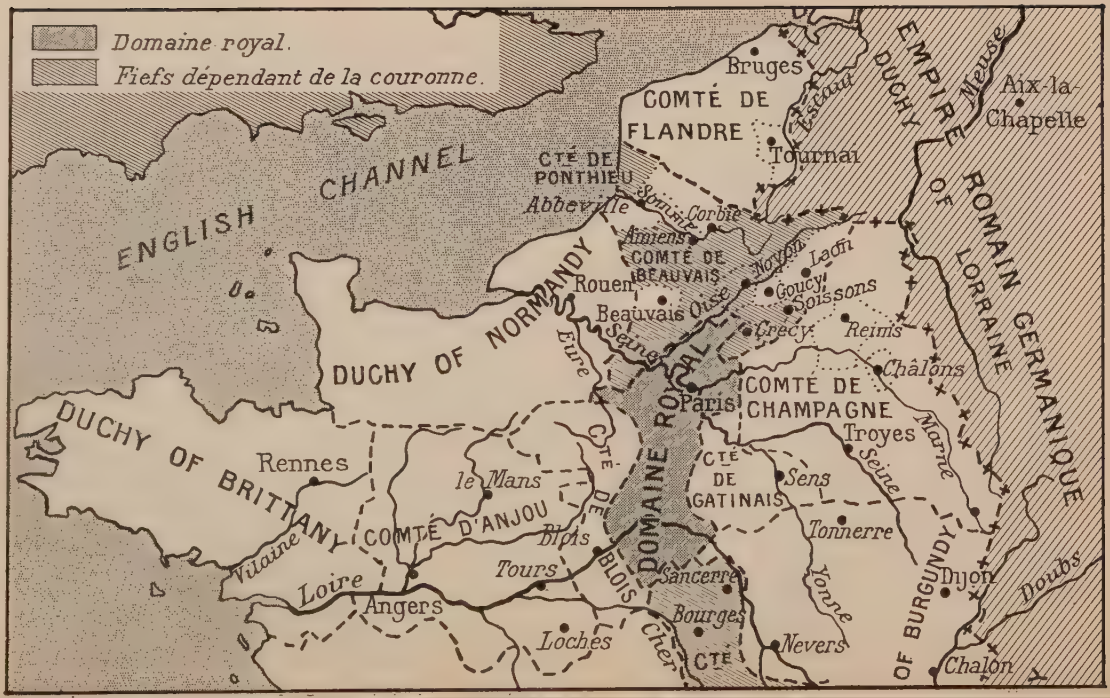
She successfully resisted the would-be bridegrooms until she reached Poitiers. There she met the duke of Normandy. He was different. The duke of Normandy was also count of Anjou and of Touraine, and in line to become king of England. He was the first of her suitors to suit Eleanor. The prospect of becoming queen of England did not look so bad to a lady who had been queen of France and had left under a slight cloud. So she married the duke of Normandy. She married him just six weeks after she got her divorce from Louis. He did become king of England and Eleanor its queen. It is not always virtue that gets the rewards in this world. The name of Eleanor's new husband was Henry Plantagenet, and the troubles Louis subsequently had with Henry, largely on account of losing his wife to him, were more than enough to make a chapter by themselves. We come to them presently.

CHAPTER THIRTY

MORE ABOUT THE FEUDAL SCENE.

« The knights are dust, their good swords rust, their souls are with the saints we trust. » Some, it is safe to say, are not with the saints. Beauty and brutality competed in the days of chivalry, and beauty did not always win. This chapter invites you to visit feudal ruins in France, and recounts certain advantages of the medieval life. Real gentlemen fought only on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays.

Chapter Twenty began a discussion of the Feudal Ages. We now resume that theme. You feel that there must have been something fine about the Feudal Ages if only because they have left behind such romantic relics. Ruins of a thousand castles still crown a thousand hills in western Europe. Ruins they are, and rooks and bats and owls are the chief tenants of their crumbling, ivy-clad towers, but they possess dignity and beauty and eloquence to evoke the days when their masters ruled the land. In their presence you seem to see armored knights riding forth on bright mornings; whether on good or evil bent, that picturesque parade must have been worth watching until the last pennon of the last lance disappeared in a fold of the hills. They make you see too the watchers on the castle walls, and hear shouts of alarm as some harried group dashes for the drawbridge, perhaps a bare leap ahead of hotly pursuing lances. The portcullis clangs downward into place only just in time, and the drawbridge rises. Follow your imagination a little farther and you may see tall young men keeping night-long


Domaine royal.
Fiefs dépendant de la couronne.
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Bruges
COMTÉ DE FLANDRE
Escaut
EMPIRE
DUCHY
Meuse
Aix-la-Chapelle
Tournai
CTÉ DE PONTHIEU
Abbeville
Somme
Corbie
Amiens
COMTÉ DE BEAUVAIS
Noyon
Laon
ROMAIN GERMANIQUE
OF LORRAINE
Rouen
Beauvais
Oise
Goucy
Soissons
Crecy
Reims
Seine
Eure
DUCHY OF NORMANDY
Châlons
COMTÉ DE CHAMPAGNE
Paris
DOMAINE ROYAL
Troyes
Marne
Seine
DUCHY OF BRITTANY
Rennes
le Mans
CTÉ DE GATINAIS
Sens
Tonnerre
COMTÉ D'ANJOU
Blois
Vilaine
Loire
Tours
Sancerre
Yonne
Dijon
Doubs
Angers
Bourges
Loches
Cher
Nevers
OF BURGUNDY
Chalon

Feudal France in the Eleventh Century.

vigil beside their arms on the eve of knighthood. Stiffly they rise with the dawn and prepare to take the vow of chivalry, that fine vow to be loyal and brave, to maintain the right and oppose the wrong, to rescue the distressed, and to defend God, the Church, and the ladies.

Then you wonder why all this went wrong, why the castles were dismantled by the kings, why chivalry ceased, why great lords of the land became just creatures of the court. If the lords had been reasonably good lords, if the young knights had taken their fine oaths of chivalry seriously and lived up to them, the outcome might have been different. But the lords usually were not good lords, and the knight who was « without fear and without reproach » was extremely rare. The feudal system failed because those who had power abused it and those who did not have it were unjustly treated. Similarly every system, in the long run, destroys itself if it is unjustly administered.

The Feudal Ages have been described as a sort of bridge between barbarism and civilization. Visible evidences of that bridge abound in France, and, even today, feudal heirlooms in the form of titles have a certain factitious social value, a value greater, however, in America than in France. You do not have to go far from Paris to see picturesque ruins of castles from which knights rode forth to the Crusades. If you care to visit one that has been restored to its pristine glory you have only to go to Pierrefonds in the forest of Compiègne. There Viollet-le-Duc, the famous authority on medieval architecture, restored, in the time of the Second Empire, a great ruin, so that today it is quite ready for some lordly knight with a large family to move in. Or, if you wish to see a walled town as it was in the olden days, go to Carcassonne, another restoration by Viollet-le-Duc, on the Aude, far

to the south; it used to stand guard over the historic highway across the neck of the Spanish peninsula.

Ruins, however, have more « atmosphere » than restorations, however well the restorations may be done. Restoration drives all the ghosts away, and puts you at once in a museum, but an old ivy-covered tower, like the one at Châteaudun, at Montbard, at Gisors, or any one of a hundred others may put you back in the Middle Ages. It is agreeable to be there for a few minutes, particularly if you have a car waiting to bring you quickly back to modern times.

The conspicuous feature of a castle ruin is nearly always what happens to be left of the *donjon*. Donjon does not mean dungeon. On the contrary, a donjon is a tower; usually a very strong tower. It was the last place they had to run to, the innermost keep of the castle. Being the most strongly built part, it has best withstood the ravages of time. Underground passages led from these donjons; sometimes they led for miles away. At Arques they tell you of one that was fifteen miles long, and at Gisors you may explore one that led to the tower of Neauphle that may be seen in the distance. By means of that historic subway Blanche of Castille, mother of Saint Louis, once outwitted the English who thought they had her cornered at Neauphle. She made her way to Gisors by the underground passage, and then came back to Neauphle with men-at-arms who fell upon the English from the rear.

The life that went on in the castles had, as you can imagine, its dull moments. A castle was all very well in fine summer weather, but think what it must have been in winter! The wandering minstrel was a most welcome guest, and everybody was happy when some swarthy southerner came along with a performing monkey or a trained bear. Even peddlers got a cordial reception. One important advantage that is

claimed, however, for castles over modern houses and apartments is that they kept the family at home. « The Feudal Ages ameliorated », so it is written, « the family life in that they obliged the lord to live at home without other society than that of his wife and his children, and the domestic virtues increased thereby. »

The lord may have had to stay at home a good deal, but he may have found some pleasure in just being a lord. That he had plenty of power in his domain is indicated by an ancient document that defines his relation to his villains, and the villains, remember, were farther up the social ladder than the serfs. « The lords are lords of sky and earth », this document reads, « and they possess jurisdiction on and below the earth, over neck and head, over water, winds, and woods. Between you, lord, and you, villain, there is no judge but God. » The villains responded, « We recognize as the property of our gracious lord the right of banishment and summons, the tall forest, the birds of the air, the fishes in running water, the wild beasts in the bush, as long as our gracious lord, or the servant of his grace, pursues them. So that our gracious lord may take under his protection and support the widow and orphan as also the man of the land. »

Evidently, if you were a villain, your fun in the Feudal Ages depended entirely on what kind of lord you had. The system, like any other, was good if the personnel that operated it happened to be good. But what could you expect of landed lords who only the day-before-yesterday had been roving bandits? This feudal more-or-less system was a perfectly natural development; that was in its favor. It was an inescapable step in the evolution of the people toward statehood. Plenty of cruelty and abuse accompanied it, but it did have an advantage over the Roman system in that it gave some encouragement to individualism. It devel-

oped through decentralization whatever capacities the ruling classes possessed for administration and leadership. Unfortunately, administrative ability and wise leadership were rare in those days. What might have been expected to happen happened. Some of the lords were bad indeed. Torture of prisoners occurred, but it appears that that still occurs. Modern events reveal that brutality knows no flag nor time. We are perhaps as intolerant today toward those who threaten the present order of society as feudal lords were in their day toward rebellious peasants.

Despite cruelties, there was, withal, an elusive element of romance and adventure about those days, an element in life that eludes us yet, but for which life always has some hunger. Certainly the Feudal Ages had a romantic value, and therewith an imponderable merit of example that may serve us yet. Feudality, monarchy, democracy; who can say with certainty which of these fits best the nature of man?

Feudalism may have been midway between savagery and civilization, but what is civilization midway between? Are we going on to still more of centralization and standardization? Is human life to be regimented and mechanized still further? Or may its nature impel it to rebel against its too comfortable modern serfdom and to seek some system or some lack of system in which men and women may more truly be themselves? Only the nature of man can finally determine the nature of the state. If nature finally finds itself too much thwarted it may rebel against even prosperity. Civilization may have taken us too far from the ancestral woods. Deep-down things we brought with us out of those woods may turn us toward them again. However, since we are now physically disqualified to climb trees and live on nuts, we might compromise on a modern, modified form of that feudal intermediate stage between

the caves of Neolithia and the gas-filled caverns of New York. A feudal lord would perish in a subway quite as quickly as we in his chilly castle, and Fifth Avenue at five o'clock is just as preposterous as a knight in armor. There might be some point in modernizing castles and placing wise and gentle lords therein under whose non-interfering protection the rest of us might live and fulfil our beings. Then give us a goodly fief and let us try a modern feudalism on some yet undiscovered island. But reporters would discover it the next morning and publicity would finish it.

One of the big factors in the downfall of feudalism was that manifestation of greed and stupidity that took the form of private wars. The Church did all it could to stop these, but it couldn't do much. It established what was called the « truce of God », which, for the lords, was supposed to run from every Wednesday evening until the next Monday morning, and for everybody else it was a permanent injunction. The best feature of the truce of God was that it tended to confirm the confinement of armed conflicts to the nobles. As to its limiting these gentlemen to Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays only for their encounters, it had less effect. They continued to fight when they felt like it, although in the south of France it got to be that they felt like it more on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays than later in the week.

The Church also had the chief part in organizing and maintaining the institution of chivalry. From earliest times there had been some sort of ceremony in connection with the recognition of a youth as a full-fledged warrior, entitled to a share in the booty and to other rights and responsibilities of manhood. In the forests of Germany the tribes used to assemble as witnesses when the chiefs gave out swords and shields to indicate graduation from boyhood. The Church

undertook to amplify and dignify this ceremony, giving to it a strongly religious aspect.

Chivalry means knighthood; the French word for knight is *chevalier;* the word knight comes from the German *knecht.* The initiation into knighthood became severe, but no son of a noble, unless he was to enter the Church, could think of avoiding it. It was like going to college; everybody did it. The training of a candidate began when he was seven years old. He was then taken away from his mother and put in service as a page at some castle, preferably at one more important than his father's. At fourteen or fifteen he became a squire, and from then on until he was twenty-one his training was very arduous. At the more important castles some grizzled old knight was in charge of the training of the squires, and that training in arms went on all the time. There was no starting in when school opened and playing the last game before Thanksgiving; you had to be fit and ready to fight at any time.

When the young man finally graduated from squiredom into knighthood, an elaborate ceremony occurred. The first and apparently a remarkable feature of this ceremony was a bath. Then the candidate had to fast, he had to keep that all-night vigil on his knees beside his arms, and he had to make a thorough confession of his sins. After that he had to stay awake through a sermon preached for him personally. Then he was escorted to the altar by two knightly sponsors, and his sword was blessed. The lord who was to confer knighthood upon him struck him on the shoulder with his sword as he knelt humbly, and said, « In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost I dub thee knight ». Finally there came the young knight's oath of chivalry made over all available sacred relics. The Church had done what it could.

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

HENRY II OF ENGLAND. THOMAS A BECKET. LOUIS VII OF FRANCE.

Now we meet the Theodore Roosevelt of the Middle Ages. He successfully used a big stick on rebellious barons. Theodore's name was Henry. He had great trouble with an archbishop named Thomas, who was a strong-willed man himself. There were also troubles with his sons, Richard and John, who were playmates with Prince Philip of France. Henry is buried at Fontevrault in France. His dominions there were greater than all of England.

Henry, Duke of Normandy and Count of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, married Eleanor of Aquitaine, formerly of France, in 1152. Two years later he was crowned king of England as Henry II, the first of the Plantagenets.

Henry I of England died in Normandy, you may remember, in 1135. He had planned that his daughter Matilda should succeed him, but his nephew, Stephen of Blois, made haste to England, seized the royal treasure, and was legally chosen king. The idea of a queen as ruling monarch was not then popular in England, but, as it turned out, England might have been better off with Matilda than with Stephen. The nineteen years of his rule were among the darkest in English history. The evils of the days of William Rufus returned and were magnified. « The foundations of order were broken up, and England fell into so cruel an anarchy that pious minds feared that Christ and his saints were asleep. You might go a day's journey and not find an inhabited village or an acre of tilled land. »

You have already read of the marriage of Matilda, daughter of Henry I, to Geoffrey of Anjou, that handsome young prince who wore a sprig of gorse in his cap. Henry II, to whom we now come, was a child of this marriage. From boyhood he knew what it was to rule. At fifteen he was the ruler of Normandy and of great counties in the valley of the Loire. At nineteen he married a lady who had barely ceased to be queen of France, and at twenty-one he began his career as one of England's greatest kings.

Wrong gives the following picture of him : « Henry, red and freckled, with a powerful frame, short-cropped hair, and square face, is the picture of coarse-fibred vigor. His mind and body were ever active; even at mass he would write busily. He cared nothing for comfort, and, though the age loved ceremony, there was scarcely a trace of formality at his court. Visitors might approach him wherever they could find him, at dinner, in church, or even in bed. He understood many languages, among them the despised tongue of his English subjects, which, however, he could not speak. He loved the society of the educated, and surrounded himself with men usually better than himself. For suffering he showed pity that was rare in his time and class; he founded many hospitals and refuges for the poor. Though a despot, he loved justice. But he was profligate. Sometimes his temper was wild and ungovernable, and then his words were rash and blasphemous, his actions those of a madman, who tore off his clothes, rolled on the floor, gnawed straw. He had a passionate love for his children, but used them as pawns in his game of politics, and expected them to submit. It was their disobedience that brought dark clouds upon his later years. »

Henry's greatest work was in restoring order out of the chaos that prevailed in England on the death of

Stephen. He reduced the power of the barons who revolted against him again and again. Although almost constantly involved in difficulties in England, he did not neglect his dominions on the Continent. What with Normandy, the Loire region, and Aquitaine, his territory in France was twice as large as that of the king of France himself. There was no national unity among the peoples over whom he ruled so ably, and to no one of them did he wholly belong. He spent much of his time in travel, carrying his court with him. His restless activities, his great physical vigor, and his impatient abilities made him the Theodore Roosevelt of his time.

The troubles Henry had with Louis the Seventh over disputed territories in France were never so serious for him as were his difficulties with his own barons, his own family, and, particularly, with his former friend, Thomas à Becket, the famous archbishop of Canterbury. However, the marriage of Eleanor to Henry marked the beginning of a long hostility between the kings of England and of France that was to continue until the end of the Fifteenth Century. It was fortunate for Louis that Henry had many troubles within the confines of his own territory, for Henry always had Louis at his mercy had he been free to act against Louis alone.

Louis opened hostilities promptly after Eleanor's marriage at Poitiers. He claimed that she, as his vassal in respect to Aquitaine, had no right under feudal law to marry without his consent. Henry, being much occupied with other matters, paid for peace the same year that he was crowned king of England. Later, however, he claimed the county of Toulouse in the name of Eleanor, and invaded Languedoc.

Thomas à Becket, though fifteen years older than Henry, was an intimate and greatly admired friend both before and after the coronation. Henry appointed Becket his chancellor. He was the new king's right-hand man in the difficult early years of his reign and fought at the head of his troops. Then, in 1162, against his will, he became archbishop of Canterbury. As head of the Church in England he vigorously upheld views as to its judicial rights that were extremely distasteful to his old friend. Fearlessly and tenaciously Becket opposed the king on this issue to the bitter end. There was a famous assembly at Clarendon. The Constitutions of Clarendon were drawn up. In that document bishops were forbidden to interfere with a lord's power over his vassals. Becket refused to sign. Later he left England in disguise to make an appeal to the pope. Henry thereupon issued an edict of banishment against him, but he was warmly received by King Louis at Sens, a reception that naturally did not add to friendship as between Henry and Louis.

In 1170 a truce was patched up. Becket returned to England, but he had not changed his views. Henry wanted him to absolve the excommunication of certain bishops. Becket informed the bishops that they were still excommunicated so far as he was concerned, and would so remain. The bishops hurried to tell this to Henry who was then in Normandy. The king, in one of his fits of sudden anger, made a remark indicating that he would like to get rid of Becket for good. Four knights, perfectly willing to oblige in such a matter, went back across the Channel and stupidly murdered Becket in his own cathedral. This rash deed only added to the troubles of the king, He was filled with remorse for an act for which he was largely responsible. He even went into Ireland to escape possible punishment. He renounced the Constitutions of

Clarendon, did penance in being scourged at Becket's tomb, and made a pilgrimage to Avranches near Mont-St-Michel. A stone marks there the place where Henry prostrated himself before the pope's legate to receive absolution. It is to be noted, however, that thereafter he had practically his own way with ecclesiastical matters in his own territories.

In 1173 Henry was attacked at the same time by many of his own barons, by the king of Scotland, and by his own eldest son, Henry Short-Coat. Louis of France thought this an opportune time to invade Normandy. He did so and was defeated at Conches. The more enemies arose against Henry, the more redoubtable he seemed to be. The king of France prepared another expedition into Auvergne, which was claimed by both France and England, but in 1180 he signed a treaty of peace at Gisors. In that same year, Louis died.

Henry lived on for eight years after the death of Louis and was only fifty-six when he died. His last years, like those of William the Conqueror, were made unhappy by the rebellion against him of his own sons. In 1170 he had his eldest son crowned king of England. He did not plan to retire as sovereign, but he planned to divide his dominions among his sons before his death. Charlemagne did this with some success, you may recall, and Louis the Pious did it with conspicuous failure. The plan also failed in the case of Henry. When the barons rebelled against him in 1173, he put down that rebellion, but his sons, wishing still more power, had taken the side of the barons. Queen Eleanor appears to have had a hand in this defection. She was always for ambitious adventure. She was found among Henry's enemies disguised as a man. Henry put her in prison, but she got out again when he died.

The eldest son, also Henry, died before his father; so too did the second son, Geoffrey. But there were two other sons, both of whom were to become kings of England. They were Richard and John, and Richard and John were much at the court of France. There they plotted and planned against their father and made friends for the time being with a remarkable boy named Philip, son and heir of King Louis. The father of Richard and John did much to make life unhappy for the father of Philip, but young Philip now took measure of Richard and John and, even in boyhood, anticipated the days when, as king, he would outwit them and win back for France the territory that England held.

When Henry came to France for the last time he found that many of the lords and barons of his dominions there had turned against him. The side of France was greatly strengthened by defections from the side of England. Henry realized that Richard was bitterly hostile to him, having listened to much evil counsel against his own father, but he hoped that his favorite son John would prove loyal. In the summer of 1189 Henry was at last beaten, and agreed in a capitulation signed at Azay to do homage to young Philip for all his French territory, and to surrender his claims to Auvergne.

It was in this period that Richard, he who was to become the Lion Heart, made his tempestuous wooing of Jehane of the Golden Girdle. At Gisors, so the story goes, he snatched her from the very altar as she was about to make her marriage vows with another bridegroom. Of that, and of Richard's stormy interviews with his father, and of the old lion himself, father of the Lion Heart, and of the whole scene of brilliant conflict that spread from Poitiers to Gisors, you may read in Hewlett's *Richard Yea and Nay*.

Henry was ill in body and heart when they carried him at last through the pine woods from Azay to Chinon, to Chinon his old home on the Vienne, beautiful Chinon, now famous not because a great king died there, but because a peasant girl came there to save a king. There, as he lay abed, they brought to him a list of the English nobles who had gone over to the enemy and, first on the list, he saw the name of his loved son John. That was the final blow. Heart-broken, Henry cried out, « Has John, my very heart, my darling child, indeed forsaken me? Then let things go as they will. For myself or for the world I care no more. » He turned his face to the wall and did not speak again.

As the king lay dying at Chinon, they robbed him. When he was dead, they stripped the body and left it naked upon the floor. It was with him as it had been with William the Conqueror at Rouen. But he was buried with royal state in the abbey church at Fontevrault near Saumur. There today, behind the prison walls that now encircle the ancient abbey, you may visit the tombs of Henry and of Eleanor and of their son Richard, called *Cœur de Lion.* You go from Chinon along a few miles of pleasant country by-roads, you pass through little remote villages that seem hardly changed since the days when Henry rode that way, and so you come to the tombs of these Angevin kings.

The account of Henry of England has quite overshadowed the account of his contemporary, the seventh Louis of France. That is as it should be. For, as man to man, Henry quite overshadows Louis and his shadow lies as strongly, even on the history of France, as that of her own contemporary king.

Louis was a much more ardent supporter of the Church than was Henry. He was more ready to campaign in her behalf than he was to fight against his own rival, the king of England, and that was prudent.

He fought and subdued certain powerful counts who had shown slight respect for ecclesiastical rights in their territories. Henry, on the other hand, opposed the Church with respect to its judicial rights in his own territoriries, but the Church, apart from Becket, was timid about opposing Henry. The pope was only half-hearted in his support of Becket against so power-

All these goings-on are in honor of the birth of Philip Augustus. Louis VII had been married for twenty years before there was an heir to the throne. The people had about given up hope.

ful an adversary. Rome derived important revenues from England.

England was more fortunate in Henry than France in Louis, but now, when both had passed away, fortune was to favor France. Her next king, by craft and far-sighted manoeuvers, prevailed over the sons of Henry even more than the restless energy and military ability of Henry prevailed over Louis.

There were seven Angevin or Plantagenet kings of England. They and their French contemporaries were the following:

Kings of France	*Kings of England*
Louis VII (1137-1180).	Henry II (1154-1189).
Philip II Augustus (1180-1223).	Richard I (1189-1199).
Louis VIII (1223-1226)	John Lackland (1199-1216).
Louis IX (1226-1270).	Henry III (1216-1272).
Philip III (1270-1285).	Edward I (1272-1307).
Philip IV (1285-1314).	Edward II (1307-1327).
Louis X (1314-1316).	Edward III (1327-1377).
Philip V (1316-1322).	
Charles IV (1322-1328).	

With Charles IV the direct line of the Capetian kings ends. His successor was Philip who was the first of the Valois, his father having been Charles of Valois, a brother of Philip IV. But the mother of Edward III of England was a daughter of Philip IV. It was this fact that constituted the claim of Edward III to the throne of France and led to the Hundred Years' War. The last three of the direct Capetians were all sons of Philip IV.

CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

PHILIP AND RICHARD AND JOHN. PHILIP'S CONQUEST OF ENGLAND-IN-FRANCE. THE BATTLE OF BOUVINES.

As to kings, fortune now favors France and frowns on England. Philip was smarter than Richard or John. Richard was brave, and John a coward, and both were foolish. Philip wins back Normandy and crushes a coalition with the aid of the communes. Thanks to his abilities, the Capetians become real kings of France.

Louis VII, two years after his divorce from Eleanor, married Constance of Castille. Then, in 1160, he married for the third and last time, his final bride being Alix of Champagne. Queen Alix, or Adele, became, five years after her marriage, the mother of a boy named Philip, and surnamed Augustus because he was born in that month.

Richard of England, hardly out of boyhood when he left his father and came to the court of France, was eight years older than Philip. Despite this difference in age, they were much together when young princes and seemed like devoted brothers. Richard developed great physical ability and other attractive qualities, but the younger boy, though overshadowed in sports and sociability, was far-sighted beyond his years and took much thought for the future. Doubtless he foresaw the rivalry that was sure to arise between him and Richard in case Richard became king of England; doubtless he took quiet measure of the strength and weakness of his older comrade; doubtless his prudent later plans

were in some measure determined by his intimate knowledge of Richard's nature.

Richard was the most important ally of France in her conflicts with his father. So the sudden death of Henry seemed a serious misfortune for Philip, who had become king when Louis died. His former ally, succeeding to the throne of England, must necessarily be his rival for the territories England held in France.

Richard, become king, had a great desire to go at once on a Crusade. He was willing to put his whole kingdom in pawn to accomplish that design; he said he would sell London if he could find a purchaser rich enough to buy. It was far from his nature to suspect that his dear friend Philip, who offered to accompany him to the Holy Land, would take advantage of his absence to seize all he could of Normandy.

Philip was fifteen when his father died. That same year, 1180, he married Isabelle of Hainault who was a niece of Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders. She too was only fifteen at the time of her marriage and only twenty at the time of her death. Since she was a descendant of Charlemagne, Carolingian qualities may have been commingled with Capetian ones in her son Louis, who followed his father as king of France.

Isabelle's uncle, the count of Flanders, acted as regent during the early years of Philip's reign. He was an able man and, for a time, enjoyed the full confidence of the young king. After a few years, however, there came a rupture between the king and his regent. The great lords sided with the regent, but Philip, then barely twenty, showed energy and ability and promptly overcame all resistance to his authority. He defeated his uncle-by-marriage, and compelled him to make important cessions of territory in the region of Amiens. That was in 1185.

Four years later came the death of Henry II and, the year following, Philip agreed to accompany

Richard on the Third Crusade. It seems to be well substantiated, however, that Philip before his departure made definite plans to return as soon as possible He knew that Richard's nature would keep him crusading in the east, and that the gates of Normandy would be less ably guarded in his absence.

An account of the Third Crusade falls, with accounts of others, in a later chapter, What concerns us now is that Philip did return before Richard and

Philip says farewell to his fellow-crusaders and starts back for France. He had some difficulty in explaining this move.

that the summer of 1193 found him campaigning in Normandy with Richard's brother John as ally. Having used son as ally against father, he was now using brother as ally against brother. The interests of England were badly served at that time by members of its own royal family.

Philip was successful in Normandy as far as Rouen, but there strong walls and the stubborn English defense of them were too much for him at that time. He returned at a later day. Meanwhile Richard made an adventurous and perilous return from the Holy Land. Shipwrecked, he became a prisoner of his enemy, the duke of Austria, who sold him to the

emperor, Henry VI. Philip and John, when they heard of this, sent a bribe to the emperor, asking him to continue to hold Richard safely in prison. But England sent a heavy ransom and redeemed her imprisoned king. Philip received this laconic message from John : « Look out for yourself. The devil is loose again. »

Richard went first to England, but stayed only long enough to give possible thanks for his ransom. In all his life he spent only a few months there. He was eager to be off again to France, eager to attack the brother and the friend who had outwitted and betrayed him. He defeated Philip at Freteval in 1194 and again at Vernon in 1198, but Philip had a way of making his defeats indecisive. Richard could not win back the strong castle of Gisors that Philip held. So, at that time, he built the great castle of Château-Gaillard on a hill above Petit-Andely on the Seine. That new castle quite adequately protected the approach to Rouen from Paris by water.

The building of Château-Gaillard was a marvel of its time. Never had such speed and skill been shown in the construction of a feudal fortress. It represented the utmost in the military engineering skill of those days; ideas brought home from the Crusades went into its planning. When it was finished Richard proudly exclaimed, « How beautiful she is, my one-year old daughter! » That one-year old daughter, now a venerable lady of more than seven centuries, is still beautiful. Silver white in the sun, as though with age, she stands guard on her commanding hill above the Seine, and is counted among the most beautiful of all the ruins of feudal days. It is but a morning ride by motor from Paris to Petit-Andely. You pass by St-Germain and Mantes and Vernon, where you cross the river, and then you may return in the afternoon by old Gisors and Pontoise; a finer

excursion through fair country into feudal times would be hard to find.

Château-Gaillard was hardly finished when Richard went on a minor expedition against the small castle of Châlus in the Limousin. In the siege of that castle, he risked too much. An arrow from the walls gave him a fatal wound. Richard was only forty-two when he died. England took great pride in her lion-

Château-Gaillard on its height above the Seine, the noblest ruin of them all.

hearted king whose statue stands before the Houses of Parliament. He was the greatest of all the Crusaders, the greatest knight of his time, but for all that England saw of him, he might as well have been a foreigner. His absence, however, was better than the presence of John who succeeded him, and of whom England saw all too much.

About this time Philip was having serious domestic and ecclesiastical difficulties. He had married, three years after the death of Isabelle, Ingeburge, a princess of Denmark. The Danish princess did not continue to appeal to him, so he put her aside and married Agnes of Meranie in the Tyrol. For that rash act

he was excommunicated and his kingdom placed under interdict. There was nothing to do but to put away his Tyrolean bride and to take back Ingeburge. He did so in 1200, and made that unwanted queen's life miserable ever after.

We have seen how Philip in his rivalry with England used Richard against Henry and then John against Richard. He now planned to use Arthur of Brittany, son of John's older brother Geoffrey who had died, as against John. He undertook to sustain the legitimacy of Arthur's claim to the crown of England despite the fact that John had already been crowned, and the English authorities had asserted their right to choose their own king from the royal line.

Meanwhile a treaty had been made between Philip and John which involved cession of territory to Philip, recognition of him as suzerain for John's territory in France, and the marriage of young Louis, Philip's son, to Blanche of Castille, John's niece. In consequence of this treaty there soon came to Philip, as suzerain, a complaint from certain vassals of John. They deposed that John had carried off Isabelle Taillefer, daughter of the count of Angoulême, and the affianced bride of Hugo of Lusignan. Philip summoned John to appear before him to answer to this complaint. John failed to make appearance and was thereby declared by the high court in Paris to be deprived of all lands that he held as vassal of Philip, namely, Normandy, Aquitaine, Maine, Anjou and Touraine.

Philip had no idea of being able to win all that was England-in-France by means of a court decision and without a struggle. He prepared for the struggle, and invaded Normandy again. John proved as cowardly as Richard had been brave. After the memorable siege and capture of Château-Gaillard, all fell easily into the hands of Philip.

Château-Gaillard held out for six months, and might not have fallen then except for treachery. Philip conducted the siege in a thoroughly scientific manner, avoiding anything like direct attacks. He surrounded the castle with a great stockade in order to prevent help coming from the outside. A famous painting portrays the suffering of the « useless mouths », old men, women, and children, who were put out of the castle and not allowed to pass the stockade. It is related that a carrier pigeon, released from the castle with a message for Rouen, was brought down by a French falcon and fell between the stockade and the castle walls. French soldiers ran to recover the pigeon with its message only to find that it had been devoured by a starving boy, one of the « useless mouths ». The message, however, was recovered. King Philip, when he saw the misery of those who had been put out from the castle, took pity and let them pass within his lines.

Arthur of Brittany, cooperating with Philip in his campaign against John, was defeated and captured by the English at Mirebeau near Poitiers. Later he was brought from his prison at Falaise to Rouen, and there he was assassinated. According to some accounts, John killed this nephew of his with his own hands.

In 1204 Philip took Rouen, John fled to England, and nearly all the western side of France, long governed by English kings, now became territory of the crown of France. Philip wisely extended liberal and helpful administration to his newly acquired provinces.

After the victories in western France, there came some years of comparative peace which the king wisely devoted to internal affairs. He strengthened his kingdom. He knew that John would plot and plan to regain the lost territory, and he prepared to resist his enemy.

John made numerous blunders in connection with his misrule of England. Perhaps the most significant of these was the appointment of one of his favorites as archbishop of Canterbury against the will of the pope; the pope's own appointee was not even allowed to land in England. In consequence of these acts John was excommunicated, and Philip was authorized by the pope to dispossess him of the crown of England. John's kingdom was placed under an interdict and his subjects were absolved from allegiance by a threat of excommunication. John, at last thoroughly alarmed, realized that his own people were against him and determined to make peace with the Church at all costs. He accepted the pope's appointee as archbishop of Canterbury, restored church property he had seized, and went to the length of doing homage to the pope as suzerain, thereby declaring England to be a vassal state. His submission could not have been more complete. It occurred in 1213.

John, however, could not remain like that; his nature was not wholly submissive. He formed a coalition against France, and the next year witnessed his attack upon Philip with the cooperation of the counts of Flanders and Boulogne, the duke of Brabant, and the emperor of Germany. All these cooperators were jealous of the increasing power of France. It was arranged that his allies were to attack from the north while John himself was to invade Poitou. He disembarked at Rochelle, captured Angers, and then fled at the approach of a French army led by Prince Louis.

Meanwhile a much more serious situation developed in the north. There King Philip himself met the storm. Fortunately, his support of the communes had been more liberal than that of his father or his grandfather; they responded by sending important forces of communal militia to march against the invaders. This

was the first time that the burghers fought for France side by side with the nobles.

With a force of 25,000 Philip met the enemy at Bouvines in Flanders (1214). The allies outnumbered him by 15,000 men. The battle of Bouvines appears to have been a particularly thrilling encounter. Both the king of France and the emperor of Germany were in the thick of it, both were unhorsed, and both escaped capture by the narrowest of margins. After six hours

The fight at the bridge in the bloody battle of Bouvines.

of fierce fighting, the French prevailed, the allies retreated with heavy loss, and the counts of Boulogne, Flanders, and Salisbury remained prisoners in the hands of Philip. He « mercifully did not put them to death », but took them in chains to Paris in a sort of triumphal parade.

An account of the parade after the victory of Bouvines is given in an old chronicle as follows : « Everybody came running from all sides to see so great a triumph. All the bells were rung; all the monasteries were adorned within and without with silken hangings; curtains were hung in the streets and before the houses in the towns; green branches and fresh flowers decorated the roads and highways. Scythes on shoulders

and sickles hung from their necks, the harvesters precipitated themselves from the fields in order to see

After the battle the people rejoiced to see the terrible count of Flanders a prisoner in chains.

passing by in chains the terrible Ferrand, Count of Flanders. »

This victory had great effect. It proved the power of the Capetian royalty as it had never been proved before. For the first time the king had led into battle an army that was truly French in that all classes of society took part in the combat.

CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

THE POLICIES OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS. HIS SON, LOUIS VIII. THE REGENCY OF BLANCHE OF CASTILLE.

Philip organizes his kingdom, avoids outside troubles, and paves Paris. Just after the Magna Carta was wrested from King John, Philip's son nearly becomes king of England. As king of France, that son wins more territory from the English, but loses his life on account of Languedoc. Blanche of Castille, as regent, shows what a woman can do. Did she really love Thibaut the Songster?

Philip realized, much better than his predecessors, the advantages for the crown that lay in increasing the number of free cities. The communal movement began, as we saw, under Louis VI and Louis VII. In Philip's reign that movement was enlarged and encouraged. Free cities, holding royal charters, began to enjoy entire independence of their former feudal oppressors; they had much enthusiasm for the king as their liberator and protector.

Every royal charter granted to a commune increased the king's power and decreased that of the more important lords. Naturally the king took much interest in the free cities, they were important sources of revenue and of soldiery; he saw to it that their fortifications were strengthened. Frequently in Philip's time minor lords, for the sake of greater security, took the king, as it were, into partnership in the formation of new towns (*villes neuves*) on their lands. Practically every department of France has to this day a Villeneuve

within its boundaries, and most of them are very ancient.

Thus a real alliance developed between the king and the burghers as against the greater feudal lords. We have witnessed one of the fruits of that alliance in the battle of Bouvines where Philip's defeat was almost certain had it not been for the aid of the communal militia. After that battle the communal militia marched proudly to Paris as a separate body and turned over its prisoners to the provost. These green troops captured one hundred and ten enemy knights, and many common soldiers.

Philip had great ambitions. He frankly expressed the wish to make his kingdom « as powerful as that of Charlemagne », and sagaciously followed the example of Charlemagne in some of his internal policies. He created the service of the royal bailiffs (*baillis*) to whom were assigned duties of looking after the king's interests, particularly as to revenue, in all parts of the kingdom. In the south and west of France these high officers of the crown were called seneschals (*sénéchaux*). Their duties were manifold. They were political and financial agents, they supervised administration and audited the governmental accounts, and they were the military and judicial representatives of the central government.

Paris at that time had about 120,000 inhabitants and practically no municipal improvements. In that it was in no wise behind the times; London was just as badly off. But Philip left Paris a much more presentable city than he found it. Notre-Dame, whose first stone had been laid in the time of his father, was nearly finished during his reign. He built the original Louvre which was merely a great tower surrounded by thick walls. It stood beside the Seine, just outside the fortifications of the city. New fortifications were also built by Philip whose capital city had long since out-

grown her old ones; vestiges remain today in the heart of Paris of the thick walls that he built. Those walls were interrupted by many high towers of which the highest and most famous was the tower of Nesle. It stood across the river from the Louvre and continued to stand there until late in the Seventeenth Century.

The militia of the communes that fought for the king at Bouvines.

The tower of Nesle is always to the fore in stories of old Paris and shares fame with the Bastille as symbol of the royal power to punish.

The streets of Paris were in deplorable condition. They were little more than spaces between the houses and served as sewers as well as streets. Philip one day was « taking the air » at a window of the Louvre when some heavily loaded carts passed by and stirred up the mud of the street below. Such a « detestable

odor » arose that the king was compelled to retreat in haste and disorder The next royal command was that the main streets of the city should be paved with sandstone.

In the year 1200 the king « accorded important privileges » to the University of Paris. The Sorbonne was yet to appear, but the higher schools of the city, already much renowned and attended, were loosely grouped into what was called the University. Celebrated scholars who gave instruction there attracted students from all parts of Europe.

Philip did what he could to encourage trade and industry, extending various privileges to the guilds. He tried to attract foreign merchants to the French markets, but in this he was seriously handicapped by the perils that beset travellers on the highroads. Volunteer organizations of civilians were formed to try to rid the country of brigands, but the nobility and the clergy, ever suspicious of any popular movment that involved the carrying of arms, interfered with the functioning of these volunteer organizations. So the brigands, both noble and otherwise, continued to flourish.

During the reign of Philip there occurred the Fourth Crusade, and also a crusade into Languedoc against the heretic Albigenses. He showed admirable judgment in taking no part in either of these. An account of them is given later on. Languedoc, whose capital was Toulouse, was still outside the kingdom of France. There an entirely different order of civilization prevailed, and the Church had much less influence than elsewhere. It was obvious that Languedoc was a natural part of France, and the pope gave his sanction for a campaign there, but Philip did not wish to imperil his successes against England by a campaign in the south. His son Louis, however, was permitted to go on the crusade into Languedoc.

Philip Augustus was one of the greatest kings of

France and the true founder of her monarchy. No one knew better than he how to profit from the mistakes of his enemies. No king was more prudent than he in avoiding perilous adventures beyond his own frontiers, and none wiser than he in building up the the royal power within them. The « Grand Chronicle of Tours » says of him : « He was a handsome, well-built man with a pleasant expression and a bald head. He had high color and enjoyed good living. He was generous with his friends and bitter against those who displeased him. As a judge he was authoritative and just. He was severe with the great nobles who opposed him and delighted to sow discord among them, but he never allowed an enemy to perish in prison. He delighted in serving the poor and in curbing the ambitions of the powerful. He defended the Church and nourished the poor. » In July of 1223 he died peacefully at Mantes at fifty-nine years of age.

Philip was succeeded by a more or less model son; at least the son modelled his policies on those of his father Since he only reigned three years perhaps he had no time to develop any of his own. He was Louis VIII and for some obscure reason was called the Lion. Before he came to the throne of France, Louis had one remarkable experience that deserves to be reported; he very nearly became king of England.

You will recall that King John, seeking desperately to retain his kingship by making peace with the Church, did homage to the pope for England as a vassal state. The people of England had great desire to have the interdict that the pope had placed upon their churches removed, but they had no desire at all to have England declared a vassal state of Rome. John went too far. After his defeat the following year in France, which added nothing to his popularity, the barons of England forced from him in 1215 the Great Charter,

Magna Carta. When John failed to live up to its terms and the pope denounced it, the barons revolted and looked about for a new king. They offered the crown to Prince Louis of France. Louis went to London and there received the homage of many English nobles. But the next year John died, and the forces that supported Louis met a reverse at Lincoln. The tide of popular favor turned toward Henry, child of John, the pope supported him, and he was crowned as Henry III when only nine years old. Louis retired to France. Had John lived just a little longer, a French king might have reigned in England.

When Louis, son of Philip, came to the throne of France, Henry of England, son of John, was still too young to be an aggressive military leader. He was only sixteen. It was the first time since the Conquest that England had had an « infant king », and an infant king was always counted as an advantage to the enemy. So Louis did not hesitate about continuing the French campaign against England. Certain parts of Poitou were still recognizing her suzerainty and an English garrison still held the port of La Rochelle. Louis assembled troops at Tours and, by way of Niort and Saint-Jean-d'Angély, marched to La Rochelle. All these towns fell to him, and all then left of England-in-France was Gascony. Louis had planned to go right on into Gascony, but he was urged by the pope to go without further delay on a final campaign against the Albigenses whose entire suppression had to be accomplished before the Church would be satisfied.

Feeling that his position was now sufficiently strong in the north to justify a little relaxation in the south, Louis turned toward Languedoc. He took Avignon and entered as master into the region between the Rhône and Toulouse. He established seneschals at Beaucaire, Beziers, and Carcassonne and extended his authority to within four leagues of Toulouse itself.

Then he started home. An epidemic had broken out in his army and, on his way to Paris, Louis himself fell ill and died at Montpensier in Auvergne. That was in 1226 and the king was thirty-nine years of age.

In his brief reign Louis further enlarged and strengthened the kingdom, he was generous to the Church, and he liberated many serfs. In his will he made dona-

The education of Saint Louis.

tions to two hundred town hospitals and to each of the two thousand leper hospitals.

Now France in her turn had an infant king. Louis IX, who became Saint Louis, was only twelve years old when his father died. During the ten years that followed, his mother, Blanche of Castille, was regent.

The regency of Queen Blanche is notable in the history of womankind. Great as a mother, she was equally great as a ruler. Daughter of the king of Castille, and grand-daughter of Henry Plantagenet, she inherited high qualities of intelligence, of leadership, of energy, and of charm.

The premature death of Louis VIII put all into play

again. Great nobles of France judged that the time was ripe for regaining their former power, and England was ready to strike for her lost territories. Isabelle of England, widow of John, married Hugo of Lusignan, a powerful count of France. She urged him into a coalition against the regent into which also entered the count of Brittany and, most important of all, Theobald the Songster, *Thibaut le Chansonnier*, Count of Champagne. Queen Blanche promptly marched against the forces of the coalition and managed to have an interview with Count Thibaut. Her charm won him completely. Thereafter Thibaut, who had been a romantic crusader, was her devoted ally. The other counts, in great disgust, signed a treaty of peace at Vendôme and went home cursing the softness of Thibaut.

England having agreed to a truce at that time, the queen turned against Raymond, Count of Toulouse, to complete the interrupted campaign of her late husband. There was an important victory for the royal forces near Castelnaudary, and Toulouse seemed about to fall, when the count of Boulogne, a brother of Louis VIII, revolted against his sister-in-law. At the same time the lord of Coucy rebelled, and a new coalition into which Brittany entered was formed against the crown. Thibaut, whose chief castle was at Provins not far from Paris, protected the royal interests in that region, while Blanche, taking her young son with her, led troops to the siege of Bellême, a strong castle held by Brittany. Bellême was forced to surrender and that led to an interlude of peace.

Raymond of Toulouse, whose territory had been atrociously devastated in the campaigns against the heretics, now decided that the only way out for him was to return to the bosom of Mother Church and submit to the crown. Barefooted and shivering, clad only in a shirt, he took oath before the doors of Notre-Dame in Paris to submit to all orders of the Church. A

treaty was signed that ended the war against the Albigenses, and a daughter of Raymond was affianced to Alphonse of Poitiers, a younger son of Queen Blanche. Languedoc thus lost its independence and passed under the control of the French monarchy.

Now it became the queen's turn to rescue her ally Thibaut. His territories were invaded by the duke of Burgundy. Blanche hastened eastward to Troyes and the Burgundians withdrew. Then came an attack in the west. Henry III of England, now twenty-three years old, and nearly as much of a blunderer as his father John, undertook in 1230 to regain his lost provinces in France. He received the homage of the count of Brittany who was hostile to France, and prepared a fleet at Portsmouth for an invasion. There were some delays, however, and when he landed, Blanche was ready to receive him. She had already invaded the territory of his ally, the count of Brittany, and Henry, seeing that nothing was to be gained, sailed back to England leaving Brittany to bear the brunt. But the queen had to hasten again to the east. The disaffected counts, still furious at Thibaut for his devotion to Blanche, again attacked Champagne and again Blanche came to the rescue by a timely arrival. In 1231 a new truce was signed with England, and another with the duke of Burgundy that put a definite end to the danger of defeat by any coalition of the nobles. The queen had saved the kingdom. She had averted the threat of attack by England and she had saved the throne from greater perils that were nearer home.

A French history records of Blanche of Castille : « At the end of her regency in 1236 she left to her son a consolidated and respected authority. Such were her achievements that too much homage cannot be rendered to the tireless energy and wise policies by which she assured the progress of French unity under the monarchy. »

CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR

AN EXCURSION INTO ITALY AND GERMANY. OTTO THE GREAT. HILDEBRAND WHO BECAME GREGORY VII.

The Dark Ages grow lighter. A wonderful century begins. We take a look at the so-called emperors. A carpenter's son becomes a great pope. He objects to married priests and gives new orders to kings and emperors. An emperor rebels and has to stand for three days barefooted in the snow. Hildebrand, harried from Rome, is game to the end.

We have now reached the threshold of the finest period of the Middle Ages. The Eleventh Century witnessed the highest development of feudal organization. Then all the spiritual interests of Christendom were governed by an ecclesiastical hierarchy that led through abbots and bishops up to the pope as supreme authority; in similar manner temporal affairs were controlled by a feudal hierarchy that recognized kings as suzerains of lords, and, in theory at least, an emperor as suzerain of kings.

But now we come to the « wonderful Thirteenth Century ». The old order has been shaken, royal authority has become real rather than merely titular, and two vigorous young nations are rising like new-born giants in the west. The power of the pope and the prestige of the emperor are on the wane.

The reign of Louis IX was in the heart of the Thirteenth Century. It witnessed a hitherto unknown development in France of commerce and industry, of literature, science and the arts. There came that flowering of Gothic architecture, an inspired effort that has

left as record some of the most beautiful buildings in the world. This was the first period since the days of Charlemagne when men's minds were encouraged toward expression; the first in which were revealed the possibilities of the divine spark, never quite crushed out by even centuries of repression. This was the century of St Thomas Aquinas, of Roger Bacon and of Dante. A new light seemed to be breaking over the world. But the ancient rhythm that marks the history of humanity had another tragic swing to make. Nearly three centuries of war and destruction separate the Thirteenth Century from the Renaissance.

Before beginning an account of the reign of St Louis, it seems desirable to consider briefly certain things that happened previously in Germany and in Italy, if for no other reason than to lead up to Emperor Frederick II, one of the important figures of history and a contemporary of Louis. We need to know something of his predecessors, and especially something of the struggles between the popes and the emperors because of the effects those struggles had throughout western Europe.

In Chapter Sixteen the fall of Emperor Charles the Fat was recorded. He was deposed in 887. That was a little more than a hundred years after Charlemagne had compelled the baptism of certain sullen chiefs of Saxony in the gushing springs of the woods at Paderborn. After the beneficent rule of Charlemagne that followed this baptism, feudalism developed in Germany, but in it there was an important difference as compared with France. Germany, never having been subjugated by invaders, knew no such distinction as France between conquerors and conquered, between the ruling class and those who served. There was more of primitive democracy beyond the Rhine.

Arnulf of Corinthia, another descendant of Charle-

magne, succeeded Charles the Fat. Arnulf was an able prince, but, like most of the later Carolingians, suffered from the illusion of restoring the empire of his illustrious ancestor. He occupied himself with excursions into France and Italy more than with affairs at home. Meanwhile the Hungarians were raiding in Germany just like the Normans and Saracens in France.

Arnulf was succeeded by a minor son called Louis the Infant who reigned in form only from 899 to 911. At this time the Hungarians were ravaging the whole country from the Elbe to the Adriatic. Otto, Duke of Saxony, took the lead in fighting the invaders, and played a role in Germany like that of Robert the Strong in France who led in fighting the Normans. Otto's successes, like those of Robert, made for the foundation of a new dynasty. Louis the Infant was the last of the Carolingians to rule in Germany, just as Louis the Lazy, under similar circumstances seventy-five years later, was the last of them to rule in France.

Upon the death of Louis the Infant a struggle arose between the Saxons and the Franconians of southern Germany as to who should succeed him. The Franconians prevailed at first and their leader ruled as Conrad I from 911 to 919. Upon his death the Saxons proved the stronger. Their Henry I wore the crown from 919 to 936. Henry did much to repel the Hungarian invasions, created the first regular German army, and founded various cities. He was justly called Henry the Founder, but was better known as the Bird-hunter (*Oiseleur*) for the slight reason that he was out hunting birds when they brought him the crown.

Henry was succeeded by his son, Otto I the Great. Otto's great work in Germany was the final suppression of the Hungarians. They, in 954, advanced as far as the Rhine, being aided in their progress by the cooperation of certain rebellious nobles. In the following

year they besieged the rich city of Augsburg. Otto rushed to the rescue of the terrified city and defeated the Hungarians in a great and decisive battle. Fugitives who were captured were all put to death. The Hungarians, in revenge, massacred twenty thousand German women who were their prisoners. The victory of Augsburg is one of the classics in German history.

Otto, once powerful, could not keep out of Italy. There anarchy reigned. He could not resist the temptation to bring order and profit out of the chaos across the Alps. His campaigns in Italy led to the establishment of the Italo-Germanic « Holy Roman Empire ». In 962 Otto was twice crowned in Italy ; at Milan as king and at Rome as emperor.

The coronation of Otto at Rome had very important effects upon the history of the Middle Ages. It gave to German kings all the ancient prestige that went with the title emperor, a title they retained until 1806. It gave to Germany domination in Italy, and to her ruler a certain temporal authority over all Christendom. As an instance of their power over the popes, you may recall the excommunication of Robert of France at the instigation of one of the emperors.

Otto the Great was succeeded by Otto II, Otto III, and Henry II. They were successful in retaining the power and the territory of the first Otto, but Henry II, who died in 1024, left no children. Thereupon the house of Saxony was replaced by a new dynasty.

In the Eleventh Century began the famous struggle for supremacy between the popes and the emperors, a struggle that continued throughout the Middle Ages and had far-reaching consequences. One consequence was that, at the end of it, both parties were so exhausted that France was able to establish her independence of pope and of emperor alike and take the leadership of the western world.

Conrad II of the Franconians or eastern Franks be-

came emperor in 1024. There were great celebrations at Rome when he received the imperial crown. King Canute of England and Denmark, and many of the nobles of France came to do him honor. He received homage from the duke of Bohemia and from the kings of Poland and of Hungary. The king of Arles recognized him as heir to territories along the Rhône.

Conrad was succeeded in 1039 by his son, Henry III the Black. Under him the imperial power reached its greatest height. Henry named his own bishops; he even named his own popes. At a time when there were three rival popes in Italy, each of whom had excommunicated the other two, he deposed all three and placed a German upon the Holy Seat. Henry the Black, in spite of his name, was a peace lover and a good emperor. He was succeeded by an infant son as Henry IV, whose mother, Agnes of Poitou, acted as regent. Agnes did not reveal the ability of Blanche of Castille, and the rebellion of nobles led to much disorder throughout the empire.

The papacy took this opportunity to « raise its head ». The true leader of the Church at that time was a monk, a very able man named Hildebrand, who was later to become pope as Gregory VII. Like Gregory the Great, whose name he chose to copy, he reformed the Church and extended its power. As to reform, there was much to be done. Everywhere bishops and priests were marrying and living just about as they pleased. An abbot and a bishop fought a duel in a church in Germany as a feature of the Christmas festivities of 1063.

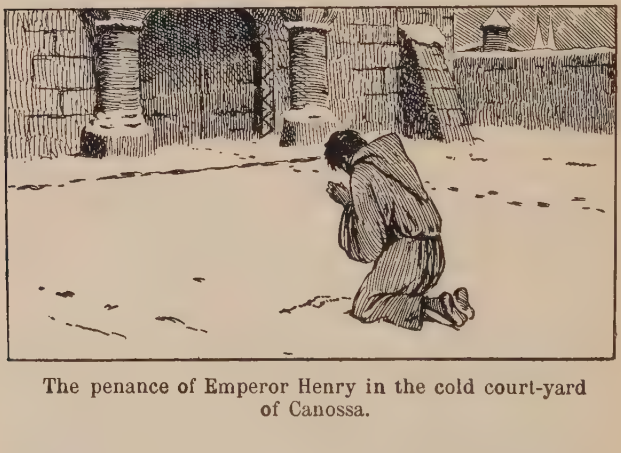
As formerly in the Sixth Century, so now again in the Eleventh, the strength that was to regenerate the Church came from the monastic orders. Most important in this great work was the order of Cluny. The convent of Cluny, established in Burgundy in 910, adopted later the old Benedictine rules in all their auster-

ity. Hildebrand, son of a poor carpenter of Tuscany, was a monk at Cluny. The great idea he and his fellow monks sought to propagate was the idea that ecclesiastical authority was representative of God and that, consequently and more importantly, any non-ecclesiastical authority was representative of the devil. Thus it followed that a duty of the Church was to seek to control all temporal authority in the interest of suppression of the devil and his works. Such simple logic was precisely the kind to make appeal to the popular mind in those or even in later days. Hildebrand conceived of all society as a theocracy, at the head of which the pope should rule and regenerate the kings. But he realized that the Church itself had to be regenerated before it started in on the kings. The plan was to begin this by imposing celibacy upon all priests and proscribing simony. Simony was the business of buying and selling lucrative ecclesiastical positions. It was an active business as that time.

Hildebrand, whose ideas appealed strongly to the pope, was invited by him to come to Rome and try to put them into effect. He went there in 1049, and there he remained under five successive popes and finally became pope himself as Gregory VII. In all that period he was the real power behind Saint-Peter's throne. Under his direction the election of the pope was confined for the first time exclusively to the college of cardinals of which he was a member. The emperor was to have no more to say about who would rule the Church. Married bishops who would not give up their wives were excommunicated, and their places taken by priests devoted to the new ideas.

Elected pope in 1073, Hildebrand at once announced that all Christian kings owed obedience to him. Now began the famous Quarrel of the Investitures which we previously encountered when Louis VII drove a pope's appointee out of Bourges. The point of that

quarrel came from the feudal principle that whoever became holder of a fief owed homage to the one who invested him in it. Thus, if a king invested a bishop with a fief, that king became that bishop's suzerain for that fief, no matter whether the fief was Church property or not. Hildebrand maintained that the pope alone should have the power to invest the holders of ecclesiastical fiefs no matter in what king's territory



The penance of Emperor Henry in the cold court-yard of Canossa.

they might lie. Since probably a third of all the land in western Europe belonged to the Church, the pope, if he held the power of investiture as to all that land, would thereby acquire more vassals than any king.

When Hildebrand ordered young Henry IV of Germany to surrender his rights of investiture as to Church fiefs, Henry rebelled. He was at once excommunicated and his subjects absolved of allegiance. Popular opinion in Germany appeared to be strongly on the side of the pope, though that probably arose as much from interest as from conviction. Henry, in any case, crossed the Alps in mid-winter, and went to plead

forgiveness from the pope at the fortress of Canossa For three days the emperor, bare-footed and dressed in the scant garments of a pilgrim, shivered in the snow in the courtyard of Canossa before Hildebrand would receive him. When at last Henry was allowed to warm his cold feet on the pope's carpet, he found that all his shivering and penance had not won the empire back for him. Hard-boiled Hildebrand told him he could now be absolved of excommunication, but that, as emperor, he was out of a job. Rudolph of Swabia, who had agreed to be a good vassal of the Church, was the pope's choice for emperor.

But Hildebrand went too far. In Germany there was a reaction in favor of Henry. A strong party held him to be the « national king » and Rudolph a « king of the priests ». Upon this issue there was a battle at Volksheim in 1080 in which Rudolph lost his life. Then Henry led an army into Italy and besieged the pope at Rome. Hildebrand was about to become a prisoner when he was saved by Robert Guiscard and his Normans. Indomitable to the last, this greatest of the popes since Gregory the Great died as the prisoner-guest of Guiscard, exclaiming at the end, « I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and so I die in exile ». His work lived after him and had far-reaching effects throughout the Christian world.

CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

GUELPHS AND GHIBELLINES. FREDERICK BARBAROSSA. INNOCENT III. FREDERICK II.

An emperor becomes a vagabond. Another, who made his red beard famous, establishes some order in Germany and is drowned when on a Crusade. His son suppresses the Normans in Italy. Another great pope appears and is followed by a great emperor who keeps the pope's throne empty for a time. This emperor buys Jerusalem, brings home a menagerie, and writes poetry. He is one of the few you should remember.

The death of Hildebrand ended nothing except his own life. His successors renewed the struggle with the emperor and the successes Henry IV had achieved proved transitory. His two sons, at the instigation of the Church, revolted against him. Son Conrad was defeated, but Henry Junior succeeded in having his father deposed at the diet of Mayence in 1105, diet being the name used in the empire for an occasional political and ecclesiastical assembly whose powers were unlimited. The last days of the deposed emperor were indeed tragic. Cast out by his own son and shunned by his former subjects, he became a vagabond who sought a place as chanter in a church. He died of hunger in Liége.

Then the Church considered its cause well won. But the overthrow of Henry IV proved to have no more decisive effect than the death of Hildebrand. Henry V, justly called the Parricide, soon changed his tune after he came to power. He had agreed to defer to the pope, but, once emperor, he found himself reluctant

to yield to the policies of Hildebrand; he was just as firm as his father in declining to give up the demanded rights of investiture. He too invaded Italy and drove a pope out of Rome. He also invaded France, but retreated at the approach of Louis the Battler, as we have seen.

The long « Quarrel of the Investitures » was finally settled by the Agreement of Worms of 1122; it was agreed that bishops should be freely elected by the churches, and that to them the pope should give spiritual investiture and the emperor temporal investiture. This formula was accepted by both parties as a way out of the investiture issue, but it put no end to the conflict for ascendancy between Church and Empire; it chiefly modified that conflict by depriving it of a dignified title.

However, there came an interval of forty years of comparative peace during which a new dynasty arose. Henry V left no children, and Lothaire, Duke of Saxony, was chosen to succeed him. Lothaire did homage to the pope before he received the crown, and that seriously displeased his people. He saved himself a great deal of impending trouble by dying prematurely in 1137.

Now come the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. The diet of Mayence chose Conrad of Hohenstaufen to be emperor, but this choice was bitterly contested by Henry the Superb, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony. His followers were called Guelphs after the family name of Henry which was Welf. Superb though he was, Henry was beaten by the partisans of Conrad who were called Ghibellines because Conrad was lord of Weiblingen. This struggle spread into Italy where those who supported the emperor and the aristocracy were called Ghibellines, while friends of the Church and the commoners were called Guelphs.

Conrad III wisely kept out of Italy. Apart from his venture on the Second Crusade along with Louis VII of France, he stayed at home and strengthened the grip of his family upon the throne. When he died in 1152, a nephew succeeded him without opposition. That nephew was Frederick I, Frederick Barbarossa.

Vigorous young Frederick of the red beard was full of ambition. He was just as ambitious that the emperor should be the real chief of the Christian world as Hildebrand had been ambitious that the pope should be. Hildebrand had found that reformation of the Church had to precede extension of its authority; similarly Frederick found that he must reform his empire before doing anything else. Conditions had changed greatly since the imperial authority was so firmly established by the originals Ottos. The struggles in Italy had enabled the lords in Germany greatly to strengthen their position. The old Teutonic democracy had disappeared and a well entrenched feudal aristocracy now confronted the emperor and showed scant respect for his authority. Many free cities had developed. They had paid dearly for the achievement of freedom and were disposed to recognize no authority that interfered with it. In this situation the emperor, emulating the kings of France, took the side of the burghers as against the nobles; Louis VII and Philip Augustus were contemporaries of Frederick. He destroyed many robber castles along the Rhine and « reestablished public peace and the imperial authority ».

The situation that Frederick had to meet in Italy was entirely different. There the free cities had the upper hand of the nobles; the burghers had won out over the aristocracy. Venice, Genoa, Milan, and Florence had become independent little republics. A particulary surprising situation developed in Rome. To the Eternal City had come the monk Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of Abelard of France. He preached « the distinc-

tion between reason and faith » and reestablished there for a brief period the form of the Roman republic. The famous Senate came to life again.

Frederick realized that to make any headway in Italy he would have to support the losing side; the winners had no favors to ask of him and none to give. In 1152, the first year of his reign, he reestablished the pope at Rome and had Arnold of Brescia burned at the stake. Cooperation with the pope, however, could be of but brief duration; Frederick was willing to support him only while he could control him. The free cities of Italy resisted the imperial authority and the pope sided with the cities.

Several times Frederick led troops across the Alps in his efforts to subdue the cities of Lombardy. Milan was captured and considerably mutilated. There was at that time too much discord and rivalry between the cities to permit successful resistance. But when the emperor returned again in 1166, planning to continue his victories, he found that a league in Lombardy had been formed against him. He retired before the united Italian forces, but only to strengthen himself for a fourth and final invasion. In 1176 the German and the Italian armies met at Legnano for the decisive struggle. Henry of Saxony and his Guelphs fought against Frederick who was decisively defeated. By the victory of Legnano the freedom of the Italian cities was established; the emperor's control of them thereafter was purely titular.

Although Frederick finally failed in Italy, his successes over those who opposed him within his own territory was complete. Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and leader of the rebellious lords, was utterly defeated and his lands confiscated. From the standpoint of Germany alone the reign of Frederick was glorious; his great deeds are legendary. On the Third Crusade he met his death by drowning.

The pope and the emperor were the greatest powers in the Christian world in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. Now, with the coming of the Thirteenth, power and leadership shifted to the west. France and England, emergent from comparative obscurity, rose to ascendancy over the older powers, and to rivalry only between themselves. True nations they had become, whereas Germany and Italy had known no

Frederick Barbarossa before Iconium in Asia Minor on the Third Crusade.

such growth in strength, no such achievement of unity; they continued to be the victims of feudal subdivision, of internal struggles and of civil wars.

The son of Frederick Barbarossa was Henry VI. He reigned from 1190 to 1197. In that brief reign, which began when he was only twenty-five, the new emperor was chiefly engaged in perilous adventures beyond his own frontiers. He married the Princess Constance, daughter and heiress of William, King of the Two Sicilies. You will recall that certain adventurers from Normandy already had established an important interest in the Two Sicilies; their remarkable achievements

there were described in Chapter Twenty-two. When King William died, Henry went to Naples to claim the crown. But the emperor received no welcome from the Neapolitans. They asserted the right to choose their own king and chose Tancrède the Norman, As long as Tancrède lived there was no chance for Henry to succeed in southern Italy, but, upon the death of that hero, he hastened to the south and asserted his authority with brutality. The infant son of Tancrède, snatched from his mother's arms, had his eyes put out, and the body of his father was exhumed to be decapitated. Many Norman nobles were executed.

For a fleeting moment this cruel young emperor had an extremely powerful position. Italy and Germany were at his feet, the pope at his mercy, the Christian state established in Asia recognized him as their protector, and England, as we have seen, had to pay heavy tribute for the liberation of Richard Lion-Heart when Henry held him prisoner. He was planning the conquest of Constantinople and Jerusalem when he suddenly died at Messina.

With the death of Henry VI there came a new turn of the kaleidoscope. Within a year there was a new pope who was both energetic and able. Innocent III proved quick and skilful to profit by the position in which he found himself. The son of Henry, who was to become Frederick II, was only four years old at that time. The German lords refused to recognize him as emperor and a struggle began between Philip, an uncle of the child Frederick, and Otto, a son of Henry the Lion of Saxony. This conflict in Germany gave the pope the opportunity he needed; before it was over his position was strongly re-established. Innocent III adopted the policies that Hildebrand so successfully inaugurated, and even went Hildebrand one better with the slogan that, « the pope should have the same relation to the emperor that the sun has to the moon ».

He rapidly built up the papal power in Italy. He gave his support to Otto in the struggle for the imperial throne; this for the reason that Otto would have no proper claim on the Two Sicilies where young Frederick II had already been accepted as king; Innocent was keenly aware of the danger that lay in having the same monarch reign on both sides of Rome. It was he who reduced John of England to abject submission and excommunicated Philip of France. It was he who caused the crusade against the Albigenses, and made the Church strong in Hungary, in Spain, in Poland and in Norway where it had been weak before.

The excellent plans of the pope went wrong only because of the hereditary inability of German emperors to be content with territories already possessed. Otto IV, following the example of Henry the Parricide, turned against the pope who had made him emperor. He claimed imperial rights in Italy. Innocent was forced by events to excommunicate Otto and to turn reluctantly to the support of Frederick II as candidate for the royal purple. Frederick made the agreement on his part that, in the event of becoming emperor, he would relinquish kingship of southern Italy. But when Frederick did become emperor, Innocent was not there to insist on the fulfilment of that promise. He died in 1216.

Innocent III, like Gregory the Great but much unlike Hildebrand, was a member of the aristocracy of Italy. He was only thirty-seven, the youngest of all the cardinals, when the choice fell upon him to become pope. He pleaded with his colleagues to choose someone else, and to let him continue his studies. He urged his unworthiness with tears in his eyes, and the mantle of the ceremony of election had to be forced upon him. Once pope, however, he revealed the strongest character of his time; the Church may very justly be proud of the record of this great man.

With the passing of Innocent III the power of the papacy also passed. A few years after his defeat at Bouvines by Philip Augustus, Otto IV died. That was in 1218. The very remarkable Frederick II succeeded him. Frederick's gifts were somewhat like those of Philip Augustus. He had political skill that was unknown to his predecessors and he had the advantage of an education in Italy. He had promised the pope to give up the crown of the Two Sicilies and to go on a Crusade; he did neither. Quite to the contrary, he established an army of twenty thousand Saracens in Italy. With these infidels to support him, he had the pope at an unfair disadvantage. Excommunication meant nothing to a Mussulman.

Gregory IX, a new pope but an old man, had the courage to excommunicate Frederick who, in the interest of policy, then made a Crusade. But he did not fight on that Crusade. He simply bought Jerusalem and hurried back home. Meanwhile the pope revived the league of the cities of Lombardy, and attacked the Two Sicilies. After Frederick's return there followed twelve years of struggle in which the venerable Gregory, defeated in all his measures, bore himself right valiantly to the end. He died in 1241 and for two years thereafter there was no pope, so much had the successes of Frederick intimidated the Church.

A noble of Genoa, the cardinal Fieschi, a former friend of Frederick's, was finally elected pope as Innocent IV. Fieschi's former friendship did not prevent him from doing his duty as pope. He resisted the emperor just as Thomas à Becket resisted his former friend Henry II. Driven out of Italy, he took refuge in Lyon where he officially denounced Henry as « heretic, mussulman, blasphemer and perjurer », and absolved his subjects from fidelity.

Sides were taken for and against the emperor and blood flowed freely in Germany and in Italy. Fred-

erick's son was made a prisoner, and when he heard of that his heart was broken. In that he was again reminiscent of Henry of England when he received news of the defection of his loved son John.

Frederick died in Italy in 1250. Contemporary of Louis IX of France and of Henry III of England, he bore little resemblance to them or to any man of his time. He seemed entirely free from those strong beliefs and prejudices that dominated the minds of men in the Middle Ages. In his youth in southern Italy he was as familiar with Jews and Mahommedans as with Christians, making friends without prejudice as to sect. When he went to the Holy Land he attended services in the mosques and listened respectfully to the prayers and teachings of the Mahommedan priests. He brought back with him a menagerie of lions, tigers, camels and dromedaries that he paraded in Italy and Germany.

As to industry and the arts, Frederick had ideas that were remarkably ahead of his times. He established model farms where exotic plants were introduced; indigo, sugar cane, the date palm and others. He made commercial treaties with Arabs as well as Christians. He suppressed slavery. He was a patron of literature and the arts and wrote poetry himself in his beautiful palaces at Naples and Palermo. He seemed the least German of all German emperors.

With the death of Frederick the power of the empire crumbled and the family of Hohenstaufen fell into obscurity. For a few years his son Conrad reigned, but he died suddenly in 1254, and with him came to an end the long struggle between the popes and the emperors. Conrad IV was the last of the descendants of Frederick Barbarossa to wear the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. Then came the Great Interregnum in Germany that continued until 1273, a generation of confusion and anarchy.

The emperors mentioned in this and the preceding chapter are the following :

Conrad I	911-919.	Henry V	1106-1125.
Henry I	919-936.	Lothaire	1125-1137.
Otto I	936-973.	Conrad III	1137-1152.
Otto II	973-983.	Frederick I Barbarossa	1152-1190.
Otto III	983-1002.	Henry VI	1190-1197.
Henry II	1002-1024.	Otto IV	1197-1218.
Conrad II	1024-1039.	Frederick II	1218-1250.
Henry III	1039-1056.	Conrad IV	1250-1254.
Henry IV	1056-1105.		

CHAPTER THIRTY-SIX

SAINT LOUIS.

An entirely new kind of king and the only one of his kind. The spirit of Saint-Louis is more than an aeroplane, but a moral aeroplane might be needed to attain it. He defeated the English and then gave territory back to them. The English, the emperor, and the pope asked him to be their judge. This Christ-like king died as a crusader. His reign was a triumph of character.

It was late in April of 1236 that Louis IX was declared of age, and the regency of his mother at an end. Blanche of Castille, a French history records, « continued to make her influence felt in public affairs, but her son truly reigned and, from the first, gave evidence of his goodness, his sense of right, and his energy ». It was not until 1241, however, that he was confronted by any issue of historic importance. In that year he wrote a letter to Emperor Frederick II that throws light on his character. That was the year in which the venerable Pope Gregory died. Frederick sought to prevent the election of a successor, and deprived of liberty certain French prelates who had gone to Rome. King Louis addressed the emperor as follows :

« Because the prelates of our kingdom have for no reason deserved their detention, it will be expedient for Your Majesty to set them free; you will thus allay our anger; for we regard their detention as an insult, and royal authority would lose its title to respect if we kept silent in such a case. May your imperial prudence not confine itself to alleging your power or your

will, for the kingdom of France is not so weak as to resign herself to being trampled under foot by you. »

Upon receipt of this note, the emperor released the prelates. Prior to that, Pope Gregory offered to Louis the imperial crown then being worn by the redoutable Frederick. It was not clear how the pope was going to deliver the crown. In fact he was having difficulty at that time in retaining his own tiara. Louis wisely declined to become involved in a struggle with the emperor.

In the same year, 1231, Hugo of Lusignan was again « pushed to rebellion » by his virulent wife Isabelle, the widow of King John. Hugo was backed up in this rash venture by certain nobles of Poitou, and he counted on the support of his step-son, Henry III of England. Henry, at the head of an English army, landed at Royan. The forces of France met the enemy at Taillebourg where the river Charente separated the two armies. There, on a hot July day, by the bridge of Taillebourg, the young king of France first proved his mettle in battle. He fought among his soldiers, they won the bridge, and the English fled to Saintes. Near there, two days later, they were defeated again and the king of England barely escaped capture. Hugo begged to be forgiven and was forgiven; Louis knew what Hugo had to suffer at home from Isabelle. A truce made with the English at Bordeaux put an end to hostilities.

Had he followed up his victories at this time, Louis might have completely expelled the English from French territory. But he had conscientious scruples against doing so. His kingdom had already tripled its area by virtue of the conquests of his father and grandfather, and he was troubled with doubts about the justice of some of their acquisitions. He did not care to add to those doubts by confiscating additional territory on his own account. The danger that lay in

English possessions within the natural boundaries of France probably did not occur to him; France had not yet grown to a stature to appreciate what her own natural boundaries were.

Two years after the battle of Taillebourg, Louis had a dangerous illness. When his case seemed desperate, he made a vow that if his life was spared he would go on a Crusade. In 1248 he felt the time had come to fulfil this vow. His kingdom was in good order, and he knew his mother was entirely capable of looking after affairs in his absence. She and all his other advisers did their utmost to dissuade Louis from going, but his conscience held him to his vow. He sailed from Aigues-Mortes to Egypt and there he and all his army, decimated by the pest, were captured by the Mamelukes. A heavy ransom had to be paid. Louis, once liberated, dauntlessly led his weakened forces on to Palestine. He did not return to France until six years after his departure.

During the king's absence his mother, as might be expected, governed wisely and well, but when at last Louis returned, Queen Blanche was dead. For more than two years the kingdom had been without king or regent.

France was very joyful when her king came home. On every hand he was acclaimed as a hero, almost as a saint. Such was the spirit of the times that he had gained fresh prestige and authority from his long and apparently foolish absence. So nobly had he borne himself during tragic situations of the Crusade that his renown as a saint-like king had spread far and wide. He was more nearly the real leader of Christendom than the pope himself. So great was confidence in his integrity that the pope and the emperor asked him to be judge as to certain of the many points at issue between them. A little later a serious dispute between

the king and barons of England was referred to him for decision.

The incident as to England occurred in 1264. King Henry had promised to observe what were called the Provisions of Oxford, provisions that made the royal power subservient to a committee of twenty-four nobles. Henry went back on his promise as was to be expected, but later agreed with his lords to refer the Provisions of Oxford to Louis of France for a

The embarkation of Saint Louis at Aigues-Mortes in 1248.

decision as to their validity. Both parties agreed to abide by that decision. Louis, in a judgment supported by the pope and based upon his own ideas of royal privileges, declared that the Provisions were invalid in that they deprived the king of the right to appoint his own ministers. This decision, though unpopular in England and contested by the sword, did not diminish the prestige of the judge who made it.

Henry would have tried again to win back the lost provinces of England-in-France, especially while Louis was away crusading, except that he was in grave difficulties at home. His barons were in arms against him. He could not obtain the credits neces-

sary for a foreign expedition. Simon de Montfort, son of a famous French nobleman who had been a leader in the crusade against the Albigenses, was then the real ruler in England; he had inherited the earldom of Leicester through his mother and rose to leadership of the English nobles in their just rebellion against the king.

Louis desired a definite peace with England, and was willing to make a treaty to settle all points at issue. Such a treaty was made. Henry came to Paris and signed it in December of 1259. This treaty definitely confirmed the conditions of the truce made at Bordeaux after the victories of Taillebourg and Saintes. The remarkable feature of it was that Louis therein voluntarily gave up to England certain territory in France previously won from her. He doubted the legality of his own claim to that territory. The river Charente became the dividing line between the French and English possessions, Henry thereby regaining the Limousin by virtue only of Louis s sense of justice. A similar cession of territory by one government to another is difficult to find even in modern history.

Eight more splendid years of the reign of Louis followed the signing of the treaty with England. Then he went on another Crusade from which he never returned. One of his brothers, Charles of Anjou, whose character was nearly the opposite of that of Louis, had become king of the Two Sicilies. He had been encouraged by the pope to wrest that kingdom from Manfred, a natural son of Frederick II who had held it since his father's death. The peace of Charles's new kingdom was greatly troubled by pirates who came raiding from the coast of Africa. It appealed to him as an excellent plan to persuade his pious brother to go crusading by way of the coast of Africa, cleaning up the pirates as he went. Louis, against

the advice of the pope and his own lords, went and went first to attack the Bey of Tunis. The season and the route were both badly chosen. The army landed near Tunis and there, in a camp near the ruins of Carthage, in burning August heat of the year 1270, the king was stricken with the pest and perished.

When Saint Louis died his family had become the most powerful in Europe. The lords of France, gathered round the body of their dead leader on an African beach, swore fealty to his son Philip whose Uncle Charles was already a king in southern Italy. The extent of the royal domain in France was greater then than it had ever been before under Capetian rule. Its unity was threatened only by the fact that younger sons of the royal house had been given the right to rule over certain parts of it and that right descended to their heirs. Eight minor branches of the Capetian family tree had hereditary rights over important parts of France. Burgundy, Brittany, Anjou, and Provence were among the important divisions thus alienated from the crown, while Auvergne and Poitou were ruled by Louis's own brother, Alphonse of Poitiers, who, by marriage, also acquired the county of Toulouse. It happened that Alphonse of Poitiers was an able prince whose administration was admirably successful, but it was not so with other minor heirs of the royal family. Despite family ties, and the advantages incident to providing newly acquired regions with a member of the royal family as ruler, here was an important source of danger that later became an active menace.

The success of the reign of Saint Louis was a triumph of personal character. Neither in politics nor in war was he truly great. But he was a saint on the throne and the temper of the age was with him. His char-

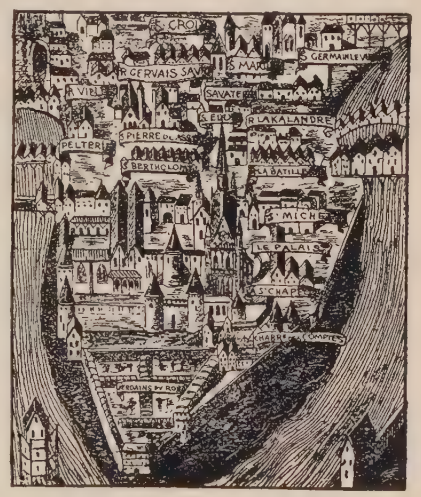
acter harmonizes well with the Gothic architecture of his time, but he would have been sadly out of place in the time of Clovis or in the days of Louis the Fat. His scrupulous respect for right was combined with practical sense in matters apart from his Crusades. He firmly maintained all the prerogatives of royalty that were legitimate and useful, even when he had to oppose the Church in order to do so.

He respected the feudal rights of the lords, but he required them to police the roads and the countryside so that travellers had reasonable security. He standardized the coinage, and outlawed the use in his domains of money that did not come from the royal mint. He suppressed private wars and judicial duels. He made no changes in the charters of the communes, but, at the request of the burghers themselves, he had his bailiffs supervise the elections of mayors and control their subsequent behavior; the towns lost the luxury of frequent election fights, and some of their independence therewith. He limited the scope of ecclesiastical courts and made priests submit to royal jurisdiction. He frequently sat as judge himself and held his court on fine days under a great oak in the forest of Vincennes.

The policy of Louis was one of adjustment rather than of reform. He was tolerant of conditions that time and custom had created. He took charge of the poor machinery of government as he found it, and proved that any machinery of government may give good results if a strictly honest and attentive man is in charge of it. He instituted no radical reforms, but he set an example that had radical effects. He made good government popular and justice without undue interference the fashion. He demonstrated the beauty and efficiency of respect for the rights of others.

The earliest record in France of a body called *parlement* dates from the time of Louis. The similarity

of this word to the English word parliament frequently causes misunderstanding. The French *parlement* was not a legislative body. It was a court, the highest court. Later it came to exercise the authority of its judgments as to the legality of royal acts, and had conflicts with the crown, but it never was a parliament in the English sense.



The palace of Saint Louis at the lower end of the *Ile-de-la-Cité.*

Safety in the country led to important agricultural development in this period. Until the Eleventh Century a famine every three years was the regular thing. Now famines became a thing of the past. Trade also flourished in the reign of Louis, especially in the jewelry and dry goods lines. Any lending of money at interest was considered usury and severely punished; the king never could understand the banking business. Jewish bankers at this time, the better to conceal wealth, invented letters of credit.

Saint Louis built the chapel at the château of Vincennes and the Sainte-Chapelle that stands near Notre-Dame in the courtyard of the Palais de Justice. It was built to be the resting place of the « true Crown of Thorns » presented to him by the city of Venice; thousands visit the Sainte-Chapelle

every year to see the wonderful stained glass there.

Robert of Sorbon, confessor of King Louis, founded the Sorbonne as a theological seminary under the royal patronage. As even today, it stood on the left bank of the Seine, and around it spread the university, a city of colleges and of scholars who were something between the priests and the laity; « a city of pedantry and of turbulence, of hard study and of hard knocks, of fasting and of fêtes, of discussions in Latin and of fights in the streets ». The famous Latin Quarter manages to maintain even today some shreds of its ancient reputation.

A French historian writes of Saint Louis, « He was the finest figure of the Middle Ages. To his contemporaries he seemed to wear an aureole of holy justice. To the world of his day he fulfilled the ideal of a Christian king. Strict in justice, protector of the churches and of the poor, he refused to make war against fellow Christians, unsheathing his sword only to free the Holy Sepulchre from the infidel. His majesty equalled that of the Roman emperors and his sanctity was not excelled by any pope, bishop or martyr ».

CHAPTER THIRTY-SEVEN

PHILIP III THE HARDY (1270-1285). PHILIP IV THE FAIR (1285-1314). THE BATTLE OF COURTRAI.

A prince of France marries the heiress of Navarre and Champagne. Four thousand French fall at the « Sicilian Vespers ». Charles of Anjou gnaws his sceptre. His nephew, Philip the Hardy, attacks Aragon and loses. A mystery king appears. He wins Flanders, but the burghers' wives outdress his queen. Their husbands spear knights in a canal and collect eight thousand spurs. Philip becomes fed up on Flemings.

Philip, heir of Louis, was twenty-five years old when his father died. Louis summoned his son to his bedside and said to him, « Dear son, I beg you to make yourself beloved by the people of your kingdom, for truly I would rather that a Scot came from Scotland and governed the people well and loyally than that you governed them badly ».

Philip married Isabelle, daughter of the king of Aragon. Aragon lay just across the Pyrenees from Languedoc, covering the north-eastern part of the Spanish peninsula. Isabelle died in the first year of her husband's reign. She had two sons. The elder, Philip, became king as Philip IV, and the younger, Charles of Valois, was the father of that Philip of Valois who became king in 1328.

Philip III, « of moderate intelligence, but by nature just and generous », continued the policies of his father. The royal domains were much increased at this time by the death of Philip's uncle, Alphonse of

Poitiers; Poitou, the county of Toulouse, and other territory in the south-east reverted to the crown because Alphonse left no heir. A part of this region, including Avignon, was ceded by Philip to the pope.

Philip had certain unprofitable adventures in those romantic kingdoms in Spain, — Navarre, Castille, and Aragon. Thibaut the Songster of Champagne, who was such a valuable ally of Blanche of Castille, inherited the throne of Navarre from a Spanish uncle. His son, Thibaut II, married a daughter of Saint Louis and died with him at Tunis. His little niece, Jeanne, reigned under the regency of her mother, and Navarre was invaded at that time by Castille. Philip sent his cousin, Robert of Artois, to the rescue. Robert captured Pampeluna, and Jeanne of Navarre was affianced to the son and heir of Philip; thus, when Philip IV came to the throne, he acquired, through his wife, both Navarre and Champagne. Philip III failed in his effort to secure at the same time the crown of Castille for his brother-in-law Ferdinand, who married another daughter of Saint Louis.

The most famous events that affected the reign of Philip III occurred in the Two Sicilies, a kingdom that suffered from the misrule of Philip's uncle, Charles of Anjou, Count of Provence. Charles, after he became a king in southern Italy, also became a victim of foolish ambitions. He had « illusions of grandeur ». Conqueror in Italy, he dreamed of taking Constantinople and of becoming emperor. Meanwhile he ruled very badly the kingdom he already had, allowing his comrades-in-arms to pillage the Italian nobility.

Now Pedro, the king of Aragon, was a son-in-law of Manfred, that natural son of Frederick II from whom Charles had wrested the crown. Pedro cooperated with an able agent in Italy in organizing a plot to overthrow King Charles At Palermo, on Easter

Monday of 1282, just when the bells were ringing for vespers, the conspirators fell upon the unarmed French. Four thousand of them were massacred. This incident took as an historic name, « the Sicilian Vespers ».

The revolt spread throughout Sicily, which declared itself for the king of Aragon. In vain did Charles of Anjou strive to regain control of his rebellious subjects. Pedro came to Sicily from Aragon and took the crown and an Italian admiral took by surprise and burned the fleet of Charles. Charles, powerless and furious, witnessed from the shore the burning of his ships. It is related that « he gnawed his sceptre in rage ».

The pope excommunicated Pedro and authorized a crusade against him. Philip of France, urged by his uncle and the pope, passed the Pyrenees at their eastern end to attack in Aragon. This campaign was entirely unfortunate. Beaten on land and sea, and decimated by an epidemic, the French forces had to retreat. King Philip, stricken by a pestilential fever, died at Perpignan.

In that same year, 1285, his unhappy uncle, Charles of Anjou, also died. It is said that he died « through excess of rage and shame ». Certainly he had adequate reason for shame. « He had led his brother to Africa to gratify his ambition, and his nephew into Aragon to avenge his injuries. Father and son both died for him thinking they were fighting for God. »

Philip the Hardy, like his father, imposed his authority upon the Church and upon the feudal lords. In fact, as to the lords, the authority of the monarchy was now so strong that it hardly had to be imposed; it was generally accepted without challenge. The lords remained feudal in name only. The Feudal Ages nearly ended with Louis IX.

Philip severely fined certain lords who failed to supply troops called for, and he continued the suppression of private wars. As to judicial duels, however,

he had a weakness. He did love to look on at a good tournament. So, on this point, he vacillated, now forbidding and again permitting nobles to settle their differences in the lists.

The brief reign of Philip the Hardy may be considered the complement of that of his noble father, just as that of Louis VIII may be considered a complement of the reign of Philip Augustus. But now we come to a reign that was the complement of nothing at all that went before. Philip's son Philip was to strike out along entirely original lines and establish new precedents in a changing world.

Philip IV the Fair was recognized as king beside his father's death-bed at Perpignan. In January of the following year, 1286, he and his wife, Jeanne of Navarre, were crowned together at Reims. Philip was then seventeen, but had the stature of a man. According to a contemporary description, « He had rare beauty. His height and strength were the envy of all men-at-arms. His blue eyes were cold and clear. His long blond hair framed a face whose regular features were striking for their pallor ». Everybody seems to have agreed that Philip was handsome, but as to his character there were differences of opinion.

This Philip remains the mystery king. Historians are divided as to whether credit should go to him or to his counsellors for one of the most remarkable reigns in French history. Amid the crumbling powers of the feudal lords, he launched the theory and the practice of absolute monarchy. To the assumptions of a strong-willed pope, entrenched behind tenets that Hildebrand and Innocent had made to prevail, he opposed the principles of Justinian; against the Church of Rome his weapon was the still older law of Rome. He, who owed to Louis the Fat his magistracy, to Philip Augustus his territories, and to Saint-Louis

his moral power, took full toll of that inheritance. He was a hard king, using and abusing his power to the utmost to attain his ends. Withal, however, he strengthened government in France, and, in the presence of changing order, left his country stronger than it was before. His methods were ruthless, but his accomplishments were beneficial to the state and set precedents for the progress of democracy.

Philip, like Philip Augustus, preferred to avoid war; he preferred political means to gain his ends. From Perpignan, after his father died, he promptly led the army back home. There he received the homage of Edward of England for his French possessions, and ended the difficulties with Aragon by treaties; the kingdom of the Two Sicilies was divided; Aragon retained Sicily, and an Angevin relative of Philip was crowned at Naples as Charles II.

Despite his pacific tendencies, Philip, within eight years of his coronation, was engaged in war with England. Edward I had succeeded Henry III some years before Philip was crowned and was much occupied with campaigns in both Scotland and Wales. Philip, to whose practical nature the scruples of Saint Louis were entirely foreign, took advantage of this situation to summon Edward to appear before the *parlement* (supreme court) in Paris on account of a brawl at Bayonne between French and English sailors. Edward sent word that he was too busy to come, as Philip very well knew. So word went back to England that all would be well if Edward did not oppose a temporary French occupation of Guyenne, whose capital was Bordeaux. Edward appears to have given something like consent to this, and French troops rapidly invaded the English province. But, Guyenne once occupied, Philip made it clear that he meant to keep it.

Edward, though otherwise much engaged at the

time, responded by making a coalition with the count of Flanders against Philip. War began. A French fleet captured and pillaged Dover, and a French army defeated the Flemings at Furnes in 1297. But the pope intervened and succeeded in restoring peace. A treaty was signed at Montreuil, the same Montreuil that more than five centuries later was headquarters for the British forces that came to fight as friends, not foes, of France. Philip agreed to restore Guyenne to the English, and his daughter Isabelle was affianced to the son of Edward. It was through this intermarriage of the royal families of France and England that, later, Edward III came to claim the throne of France and started the Hundred Years' War.

The count of Flanders, abandoned by his English allies, threw himself upon the doubtful mercies of Philip. He was imprisoned in the Louvre and his territories were confiscated. Doubtless the prospect of this valuable addition to his kingdom had a good deal to do with the willingness of Philip to sign the treaty of Montreuil. Flat and fertile Flanders had become the richest country in Europe.

In the year 1300 Philip took his court with him on a ceremonial visit to the newly won province. To do honor to their new rulers the wealthy burghers made the mistake of wearing their finest jewels and raiment. The new taxes were based on that evidence of wealth. Duruy writes, « The entry into Bruges was especially magnificent. The wives of the burghers exhibited so much gold and so many jewels in their dress that the French queen was wounded in her woman's vanity. « I believed », she cried, « that there was one queen in France; I see six hundred. »

Flanders was a hive of industry whose wealth was based principally on weaving. The needed wool came from England. Thus Flanders as buyer of wool, like Bordeaux as seller of wine, had close economic

ties across the Channel; both of these business relation ships had important political effects.

The Flemings had the reputation of being the most industrious as well as the most fecund people in Europe; wealth and population both increased there with great rapidity. Flemish cloths had no competition in the markets and the cities of Flanders were the principal points at which goods coming from the north by the

At the battle of Courtrai French knights fell into a camouflaged canal. The Flemings then had them at their mercy of which there appears to have been but little.

Baltic met goods from the south that came down the Rhine. Those rich cities were all well fortified.

The governor appointed by Philip to represent him in Flanders was a good imitator of Charles of Anjou in the Two Sicilies. The result of his policy was also strikingly similar to the tragedy of Palermo. The « Flemish vespers » occurred at Bruges where, in armed revolt, the weavers massacred three thousand Frenchmen.

An army of the French nobility rushed to avenge this unprecedented atrocity committed by commoners. Near Courtrai an army of twenty thousand Flemings awaited the attack of the French chivalry. They lined

up at the edge of a canal that separated them from the French, and there they swore to fight to the death for the liberties of their land. Also they craftily covered the canal with branches of trees.

The same Robert of Artois who had led the forces of France into Castille and Navarre now led the knights against the low-born Flemings. Robert scornfully refused prudent advice to reconnoitre the ground before launching his attack. The whole body of richly armored knights galloped forward in eager competition to be first in the fray. They pushed aside the communal militia, and then they all fell into the canal. It was a great day for the Flemings. Knights and horses were all mixed up together in the water at their feet; they had only to use their long lances to spear them like fish in a net. Four thousand pairs of gilded spurs were collected as souvenirs of the victory of Courtrai. They were used to ornament the walls of churches in Flanders.

We have referred to the fact that Philip was confronted by a changing order. This defeat of the chivalry of France by burghers at Courtrai (1302) was a striking symptom of that change. Mounted knights in mail were no longer the masters of all other men. But, obsessed by the glory that their way of fighting had won in the past, the knights of France held with suicidal stubbornness to the fighting fashions of a bygone day, as Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt were yet so tragically to prove.

Philip took heroic measures to retrieve what he had lost at Courtrai. He raised an army of seventy thousand and hired a fleet from Genoa. But his action against Flanders was delayed by the great struggle in which he was then engaged with the pope. Finally, in 1304, his hired fleet won a victory over the Flemings at Zirickzie, and they were defeated on land at Monsen-Puelle. Then another Flemish army advanced to

attack. Philip at once decided that he had had enough of fighting Flemings. The elements seemed to be against him. « It rains Flemings », he cried. A treaty was made under the terms of which he returned to them their count from the Louvre, and retained for France only the district around Lille where the French language prevailed.

CHAPTER THIRTY-EIGHT

THE VICTORY OF PHILIP THE FAIR OVER THE POPE. AVIGNON REPLACES ROME.

Lawyers now take the lead they have never lost. The king consults them. He and the pope write lively letters to each other. The pope's letters were called bulls. Why? The States-General meets for the first time and supports the sovereign. Brave Boniface is badly abused at Anagni. Philip succeeds where all the emperors failed. « The Captivity of Babylon » begins.

A law school in Italy was largely responsible for the policies of Philip. Old Roman law had been practically forgotten for a very long time, but the study of it was revived in the Twelfth Century at a famous law school at Bologna. Similar schools in France, especially at Orléans and at Angers, followed the lead of Bologna and inculcated its precepts. The primary effect of this was to strike another blow at the already tottering forms of feudalism. Feudal law and Roman law had little in common. Roman law would deprive feudal lords of their ancient power, and strengthen the monarchy; its primary principle was that all should be equal under an absolute master whose very word should be itself the law. That sort of law appealed to Philip.

There was no question of the re-enactment of any of these ancient laws by any legislative assembly; there was no legislative assembly. It was simply a question as to which system would be used by the powers that were. A group of legists (expounders of law) came to be most influential among the king's advisers.

One of them was William of Nogaret who had been a professor of law at Montpellier. Nogaret was a man of much ability and courage. His father or grandfather was killed in a massacre of the Albigenses; it was hardly to be expected that he would be friendly to popes.

The advice of the legists strengthened the strong policy that Philip followed with reference to the nobles of his realm. They were responsible for the law-suit against Edward of England in connection with Guyenne, and for others against the count of Flanders, against representatives of the pope, and against the Templars; they were prepared to make all royal acts seem legal and in order.

Roman law took no account of the Church, but Philip was not prepared to follow the law so far; he had no thought of being false to his religion. Renan, in his studies of the reign of Philip, reveals the sincerity of the religious sentiments of the king and of his ministers; he portrays Philip as a pious and austere believer, and even proclaims the sincerity of the Christian faith of Nogaret. Yet these two men, on legal grounds, were to attack the pope as pope had never been attacked before, and bring him to his death.

The pope at that time was Boniface VIII, a venerable and an obstinate man. When the great jubilee of the year 1300 was held at Rome, he reasserted the papal right to make and to depose kings and emperors; in token of his double sovereignty, heralds carried before him two swords, one to represent spiritual, the other temporal authority.

Philip, in sore need of revenue for his campaign in Flanders, collected without the pope's consent a heavy tax on Church property in France. To Boniface this was a grave infringement. He issued a bull in which he declared excommunication against every priest who paid taxes to a layman and against every layman who sought to impose them on a priest. Philip responded

with an edict that forbade the exportation of any money whatsoever from France; this of course was aimed at papal revenues.

In the following year, 1297, peace was temporarily restored, the pope gave his consent to limited taxation of Church property, and, partly as evidence of reconciliation with the house of France, he canonized Saint Louis.

This peace was of brief duration. The pope sent as legate to France a bishop to whom Philip had made strong objections. As papal legate, that bishop made himself even more objectionable. The king had him imprisoned on the ground that he had plotted against royal authority. Then Boniface issued a famous bull in which he reasserted the authority of the pope over kings, and charged Philip with maladministration of his kingdom. His bull defined the position of the pope in the following words : « God has appointed us, unworthy as we are, over kings and over kingdoms, to destroy them, to overthrow them, to disperse, edify, and plant them in His name and by means of His doctrine. Let no one persuade you that you have no superior and that you are not subject to the head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He who thinks such thoughts is a madman; he who supports such doctrines is an infidel. »

Despite these thunderous phrases, Philip remained unterrified. He even took the aggressive, declaring in court that he would disinherit his children rather than have them recognize any authority above the king's in the temporal affairs of France. It was clear, however, that the exact delimitation of papal and royal authority was obscure to both king and pope; both confined themselves to broad generalities without getting down to the exact facts at issue.

Philip decided to strengthen his position and add to it an appearance of legality by obtaining an endorse-

ment from representatives of all his people. To this end a great assembly was held in Notre-Dame in Paris. To this assembly, convened in April, 1302, was given the name States-General (*États généraux*). It lives in history not so much for what it did in 1302 as for the fact that it was the first States-General in the history of France.

Deputies of the commoners sat in the assembly beside the deputies of the clergy and the nobility; they

Philip the Handsome presiding at the first assembly of the States-General.

constituted what was called the Third Estate. Nothing could have been more remote from Philip's mind than the thought that in his States-General, assembled to support royal authority, he was creating an instrument that would be used against royal authority; this most autocratic of kings himself created a precedent that was later greatly to serve the common good against other autocratic kings.

A copy of the pope's bull, said to have been altered, was read to the States-General. Its members were asked to judge between their king and the pope. The decision was unanimous and decisive. The words of the deputies of the Third Estate were these : « To you,

most noble prince, to you our lord Philip, the people of your realm make prayer and demand that you preserve the free sovereignty of this state, which is such that you shall recognize no sovereign in these lands in temporal matters save God. »

Despite the voice of the people heard in support of their king, Boniface issued a third bull in which he threatened the deposition of Philip. At a second assembly at the Louvre one of the royal counsellors, a leader of the legists, charged the pope with simony and heresy and demanded that he be brought to trial before a Church council. The assembly endorsed the elaborate charge, and William of Nogaret undertook the adventure of placing the pope under arrest. Nogaret was aided on his perilous mission by Sciarra Colonna, a Roman nobleman who hated the pope. Duruy gives the following account of the arrest.

« Boniface was then at his native place of Anagni. By means of bribery, Nogaret won over the commander of the militia of the town, and one morning entered the place at the head of four hundred men-at-arms and some hundreds of infantry. Hearing the noise which they made in the town, and the cries, « Death to the pope! Long live the king of France! », Boniface believed that his last hour had come. The old man, vigorous despite his eighty-six years, showed no sign of weakness. He put on the pontifical robes, seated himself on his throne, the tiara on his head, his cross in one hand and the keys of St-Peter in the other, and thus awaited the murderers. They called on him to abdicate. « Here is my breast, here is my head », he answered. « Betrayed, as was Jesus Christ, if it must be that I die as He died, at least I will die pope. » Sciarra Colonna tore him from his throne, struck him in the face with his gauntlet, and would have killed him if Nogaret had not prevented it. « Caitiff pope, » he cried, « think and take notice of the goodness of

my master, the king of France, who, far as his realm is from you, guards and defends you by my hand. »

A few days later Boniface was rescued by citizens and peasants who overcame the small force of Nogaret. But the shock of the arrest was too great for the venerable pope. He died soon after « of shame and anger ». His successor excommunicated all who had had to do with the outrage at Anagni, but he too died within a few months, presumably poisoned. Philip took steps to insure that the next pope would be one friendly to him; he tampered with the college of cardinals. The archbishop of Bordeaux was elected to the Holy See in 1305 and took the name of Clement V.

You will recall that Philip the Hardy early in his reign ceded Avignon to the pope. Clement, to be nearer his friend Philip, moved the papal throne from Rome to Avignon. For seventy years thereafter the popes remained at Avignon, and were largely under the control of the kings of France. This period in the history of the papacy is called « the Babylonian Captivity ».

At Avignon you will see by the Rhône the great palace of the popes, and from the papal garden as you look across the wide and rushing river you will see the famous broken bridge of Avignon and the tower of Philip that stood guard over the end that has now been washed away. A fortress built by Philip crowns the hill of Villeneuve across the river and recalls that in the days it was built the Rhône was a frontier of France. In the middle distance a low island is covered by fertile vineyards that once were the pope's; they may remind you that the most famous wine of this region is still called a pope's wine (*Châteauneuf du Pape*).

Philip the Fair was successful where all the emperors failed; they were never able to break the papal

power as he broke it. The authority that Hildebrand and Innocent and Boniface wielded over the Christian world he brought to nothing; the papal dreams of domination over all the kings of Christendom he dispelled forever. The degradation of the pope made for further separation of the nations and established freedom of temporal powers from spiritual control.

CHAPTER THIRTY-NINE

PHILIP'S DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLARS. THE REIGNS OF HIS THREE SONS.

With the aid of the lawyers Philip destroys the Templars, who were bankers. That was one way of balancing the budget. We regret to report that the bankers were burned. Lawyers and bankers understand each other better now than they did in those days. Philip's sons were large and low-brow. It was said of these brothers that their wives preferred others. However that may have been, they left no sons of their own. Women were declared not wanted to wear the crown. Why not?

In attacking the powers opposed to him Philip showed no favoritism. If he dealt a mighty blow at the power of the pope, he dealt one hardly less mighty at feudalism when he destroyed its strongest order. As soon as the papacy was under his control, he turned on the Templars.

The Templars were an international secret society organised in connection with the Crusades. At first, as « the poor knights of Christ », they served as advance guard and protectors of the crusaders; they came to be called Templars when their headquarters at Jerusalem was established in a palace attached to the ancient temple of Solomon. By one means and another, but particularly by banking transactions, the order, holding all property in common, acquired fabulous wealth and extensive domains. When the Crusades were over, its proper mission had been fulfilled, but the Templars did not think of disbanding. On the contrary, they held firmly to ancient rights

and exemptions, and the values of their properties augmented. By virtue of privileges and secrecy they formed an order apart; their only master was the pope. They and their servants were arrogant to a degree that made them obnoxious both to king and to commoners; secrecy and aloofness told against them; rumors were rife as to the ungodly nature of their practices. The Temple, an extensive property they owned at the edge of Paris, was a constant vexation and temptation to Philip. No doubt the dispersal of this order would have been for the common good; other orders in later years were dispersed for the good of the state. But it is impossible to justify the method of Philip's destruction of the Templars.

Nogaret, the king's principal agent against the pope, now again led the attack. On the thirteenth of October, 1307, all the Knights Templar in France were arrested on a charge of heresy. This charge was based on the report that unchristian acts were practiced in secret ceremonies. There was a rumor that Templars spat on the Cross. It was impossible to support this indictment save by confessions that were extorted under torture.

In the light of these confessions the pope washed his hands of the affair. A States-General was held at Tours. It voted that the Templars merited capital punishment. Following that decision, forty-five knights were burned by slow fire in the faubourg Saint-Antoine in Paris, nine met a similar fate at Senlis, and others elsewhere. Decision as to the fate of the high officials of the order was reserved for the pope to make.

A council of the Church was held at Vienne in 1311 to consider this matter. Both the pope and the king were there. The pope issued a bull suppressing the order of the Templars in all lands, but evaded making

a decision as to the fate of its leaders. Later, a commission of three cardinals condemned them to

The burning of the leaders of the Knights Templar at the point of the Île-de-la-Cité, 1314.

life imprisonment on account of their confessions; the prisoners then retracted these forced confessions,

thus destroying the legality of the case against them. For once, Philip, who had already confiscated the Templars' property, disregarded even the appearance of legality. After seven years of imprisonment, the chiefs of the order followed their fellow-knights to the stake. « They died with dignity, protesting their own innocence and that of the order. Jacques de Molay, the Grand Master, as he was dying, called upon the king and the pope to appear with him before the tribunal of God within a year. Within a year both king and pope were dead. »

Philip was always in trouble with his finances. With the rapid growth of the kingdom, and the wars with England and Flanders, administrative and military expenses increased much more than the means wherewith to meet them. For distant and protracted campaigns the limitations as to time of the military aid he could require of his vassals made such aid inadequate for the king's needs; he had to hire mercenaries. He had to pay new ministers, bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, registrars, judges, tax-collectors and other servants of the greatly enlarged civil government. There was a heavy bill to meet on account of the fleet hired from Genoa to fight the Flemings. New luxuries had come into fashion. Philip's court in Paris had to be maintained on a scale unthought of in the simpler days of his grandfather.

The methods taken to increase revenue were simple, direct, and injurious. Modern methods of finance were yet to be invented; bond issues were far in the future. Philip's methods consisted in increasing the taxes, robbing the Jews and the Templars, and debasing the coinage. Such methods were in vogue at the time. It was forbidden to import foreign money or to assay the royal coins. The heavy taxes brought industry to a standstill and the bad money ruined

business. In 1314 a revolt was under way. In some provinces, particularly in Burgundy, nobles and burghers made common cause of their injuries; it looked as though the example of England might be followed in limiting the powers of the monarchy. But King Philip was wiser than King John. The deputies of forty towns were summoned to Paris as guests of the court, taxes were reduced, good money promised for the future, and the deputies went nome content.

The death of the king came in the same year as the threat of revolt against him. He was only forty-six when he died at Fontainebleau of typhoid fever. Certainly this cold, handsome, unloved king made a marvellous record for one so young. Despite faults and crimes, his reign was marked by great and advantageous achievements. When he came to the throne, the feudal and ecclesiastical system that had dominated his world so long was still powerful. Feudalism had begun its decline, but the pope still ruled at Rome, triumphant over all the kings. Yet before Philip was thirty-seven, he had the pope at Avignon; you might say at his feet. Before he was forty-five, he had by so much strengthened the monarchy that, despite the feebleness of his successors, there was no recoil. His improvement in the forms of government and his overthrow of repressive powers permitted the birth and growth in power of a truly civil society.

Philip left three sons who were Louis, Philip, and Charles. Each of them reigned in turn and not one of them showed anything like the ability of their father. They were all large, handsome, and stupid, and not one left a son. Thus the direct line of Capetians ended with Charles.

A lively scandal marked the last days of the reign of Philip. His sons' wives were three noble young

ladies of Burgundy. They lived in the great, gloomy *Tour de Nesle* that stood across the river from the Louvre. There the east wing of the Institute stands to-day and carries in its wall a tablet commemorative of its historic predecessor. It appears that the three princesses from Burgundy had a dull time in the old tower and began to make eyes at good-looking young gentlemen who passed that way. At least two young noblemen, overcome by the charms of the princesses, threw prudence to the winds and gained access to them. The princesses were also imprudent, and they all were caught. The two young noblemen were put to particularly painful deaths and the princesses were put in other towers, distant from Paris, where there were no passers-by. A foot-note in a French history mentions that no document has been found to prove the report that these royal Burgundian Circes used to lure into their tower young men who, if they ceased to please, were thrown into the river.

The first of the sons of Philip reigned as Louis X. He had as nicknames Burly, Turbulent, and Rattle-head. Judging from these names, perhaps it is as well that he reigned for only eighteen months. He was no sooner crowned than the once-feudal lords tried to regain some of their ancient privileges. They were particularly keen to have restored the right to make war on each other. They wanted to return to the good old days of Saint Louis when they still had some freedom of action with the battle-axes. Under the leadership of Charles of Valois, the new king's uncle, they made a start by destroying those royal ministers whom they had hated in Philip's reign. Marigny, the especially hated minister of finance, had caused to be built not far beyond the city gates the great gibbet of Montfaucon. Marigny was hanged upon his own gibbet. Raoul de Presles, the advo-

cate-general, was put to torture, and Nogaret was ruined.

But the king turned to the legists for advice, and, following that advice, gave up none of the new measures of his father that curbed the liberties of the lords. On the contrary, he took steps to secure liberty for the serfs. The name Franks means free men. Now Louis declared that, « the men of France should be free in fact as well as in name » This was not, however, an emancipation proclamation; Louis is in no way to be associated with Lincoln. His proposal of freedom was more a fiscal measure than a gift. All that was given was the opportunity for serfs in the royal domain to purchase their liberty for the benefit of the royal treasury. Many purchased it and freedom soon became common in the country as well as in the cities. Louis, with similar generosity, allowed the expelled Jews to return; the only condition imposed was the surrender to the crown of two-thirds of their property.

When you visit Château-Gaillard, you may read in the guide-book that there Margaret of Burgundy was strangled to death upon the order of her husband, King Louis the Turbulent. Poor unforgiven Margaret was one of those unhappy Burgundian princesses who contributed to the tragic memories of the Tour de Nesle.

Louis, leaving no son, was succeeded by Brother Philip. His daughter Jeanne was deprived of the succession by an act of the States-General that declared women should not succeed to the throne, even though they enjoyed the right of succession in fiefs. Thus, in 1317, there was established a precedent useful to France when Edward III of England claimed the throne through the rights of his mother.

Philip V, the Tall, reigned for four years. The States-General met three times in response to his call,

he instituted the Privy Council or Council of State; he gave titles of nobility to commoners; he enlarged the privileges of certain cities. His reign lacked both crises and color, but he seems to have been the best of the three brothers. His brother Charles came next to the throne.

The reign of Charles IV, the Handsome, was « insignificant ». However, he proved the power of the king over the nobles by hanging one of them, a noble murderer, with no more ceremony than if he had been a commoner. His sister Isabelle was queen of England, wife of that weakling Edward II who was murdered in his bed. Isabelle rebelled against Edward, and Charles successfully supported his sister. Both countries were badly off for kings at that time, but England was worse off than France.

Charles died after a reign of six years, his two sons having died before their father On his death-bed, he said to his lords, « If the queen gives birth to a son, he will be your king; if it be a daughter, the crown belongs to Philip of Valois and I appoint him regent. » It was a daughter who was born after her father's death, and so with Charles ended the line of direct descendants of Hugh Capet who had occupied the throne for three and a half centuries (987-1328). Under the next king, Philip of Valois, first cousin of Charles, there began again the long struggle with England.

Michelet writes of the reigns of the sons of Philip, « This was a sombre and bloody epoch, yet full of promise for the future. In it the last barbarities of the Middle Ages held company with the first attempts at administrative and judicial order. »

SOME KINGS IN COUPLETS

What follows may help you to remember the direct Capetians, if you care to remember them.

Capetians began in nine eighty-seven.
  Hugh Capet, the first one, is long since in heaven.
Robert and Henry and Philip laid low,
  But Louis the Fat struck many a blow.
Louis the Young married gay Eleanor;
  Whatever she was, she wasn't a bore.
Under Philip Augustus, the crafty and wise,
  The kingdom of France was doubled in size.
After Louis the Lion, who reigned but three years,
  His widow, as regent, merits three cheers.
This wonderful lady, Blanche of Castille,
  Helped the Capetians quite a good deal.
Her son, the Saint-Louis, died on a Crusade.
  No one has equalled the record he made.
After Philip the Hardy, came Philip the Fair,
  Who showed small respect for Saint-Peter's chair.
Philip, though handsome, was hard as a stone,
  He manœuvred the pope from Rome to the Rhône.
Louis and Philip and Charles end the list,
  Not one of the three would be greatly missed.
Of these three brothers not one left a son,
  So Capetians then ended and Valois begun.

CHAPTER FORTY

RECAPITULATION OF CAROLINGIANS AND CAPETIANS

Royalty reviewed. Forget the others if you must but remember about Charlemagne, Hugh Capet, Louis the Fat, Philip Augustus, Saint Louis, and Philip the Fair. Who of these was your favorite? There are eighteen kings yet to come, thirteen of whom were Valois and the rest Bourbons. A striking coincidence is that the Valois, like the direct Capetians, ended with three unimportant brothers.

In the interest of mental digestion, a number of reigns are now reviewed. The Capetians we shall have with us yet for some hundreds of years, but not the direct ones. The direct ones ended with the sons of Philip the Fair; the Valois kings began with foolish Philip of Valois, and, later, the Bourbons with hearty Henry of Navarre.

At Soissons in 752 Pépin the Short was consecrated by Saint Boniface as king of the Franks. This title was later confirmed by the pope in person at St-Denis and Pépin returned that favor by protecting the pope from the Lombards in Lombardy in Italy. Charlemagne, son of Pépin and greatest of the Carolingians, was crowned emperor at Rome in 800. There is little doubt that you recall the remarkable record of Charlemagne; if not, see Chapter Thirteen. His son and successor was Louis I the Pious whose weakness was in striking contrast to the strength of his father. The troubles of Louis arose chiefly from efforts to divide the empire among his sons. These sons fought out their differences at the battle of Fontanet in 841. Fontanet

led to the treaty of Verdun in 843, a treaty by which France fell to Charles the Bald, youngest son of Louis. But that belt of territory between the Meuse and the Rhine, later called Lorraine, was allotted to Charles's half-brother Lothaire. This breaking-up of the great empire of Charlemagne, confirmed by the treaty of Verdun, led to the birth of France, Germany, and Italy as independent countries. But, before those births occurred, the breaking-up process continued. It resulted in the France of the Feudal Ages in which the king was king in name only and the power was with his vassals

Charles the Bald tried to win the empire while the Normans were pillaging France. This policy proved fatal to the Carolingians. Through the reigns of Louis II and Louis III their power continued to wane, until, in 885, when the Normans were besieging Paris, Charles the Fat of Germany was offered the crown of France by its feudal lords. Charles accepted, but he proved to be no man to face the Normans, no man to be king of France. Soon he was deposed by the lords of both France and Germany. Then Eudes, son of Robert the Strong, Duke of France and hero of many an encounter with the pirates from the north, was king until 898. Before the death of Eudes, an effort was made to restore the Carolingian dynasty in the person of Charles the Simple, a posthumous child of Louis II. Eudes and Charles overlapped as rival kings, but Charles outlived Eudes. The most notable act of his reign was the cession of Normandy to the Normans in 911. Charles got into difficulties, largely on account of Lorraine. In 922 he was deposed and the lords declared for Robert, Duke of France, a brother of Eudes. Robert was killed while fighting near Soissons against the forces of Charles, but his death did not win back the crown for the Carolingians. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Raoul of Burgundy,

who reigned from 923 to 936. Charles, imprisoned at Péronne, died in 929.

After the death of Raoul, a Carolingian again held the title of king. Louis IV d'Outre Mer, a son of Charles the Simple, came back from England under the patronage of Hugh the Great, and « reigned ridiculously » for eighteen years; all the power was then in the hands of the lords. He was succeeded by his son Lothaire, and Lothaire's son, Louis V the Lazy, was the last of the Carolingians. A fall from a horse was the end of him.

The Capetians began with Hugh Capet, a son of the duke who made Louis IV king rather than be king himself. Hugh adroitly increased the power of the crown and assured its inheritance by his heirs. He reigned from 987 to 996 and was succeeded by Robert the Pious. You will recall Robert's excommunication by a pope who was entirely under the control of a German emperor. You may also recall the pain of the pious Robert on account of his second wife, gay Constance of Aquitaine. After Robert came Henry I, opposed though he was by his mother. To win the crown he had to have the help of Robert the Devil of Normandy. He ceded the French Vexin to Robert the Devil and Burgundy to Robert his brother, his mother Constance's favorite. Early in the reign of Philip, who was Henry's successor, William of Normandy defeated the Saxon, King Harold, at Hastings and became master of England. Philip I was quite the worst of the early Capetians. Only the favors of fortune saved him his kingdom. William the Conqueror was marching against him when he received his death wound at Mantes.

Louis the Fat, son of Philip, was a fighter. He fought Henry, son of William, and he fought his own lords. He was by far the most vigorous of the Capetians since Hugh Capet, their founder. Under him the

communes began to be important in France. He issued charters to burghers, and, by making them his allies, weakened the lords. His son, Louis VII the Young, was greatly helped in his reign by Suger, his minister and his father's before him. This Louis married Eleanor of Aquitaine who subsequently married Henry Plantagenet who subsequently became the first of the Angevin kings of England. Louis the Young was good, but not forceful. Ex-husband of Eleanor, he had a great deal of trouble with her second husband whose territories in France were much larger than his. Fortune favored Louis, however, in that Henry had troubles of his own with his barons, with the archbishop of Canterbury, and with his own sons.

After Louis VII came Philip II Augustus in whose remarkable reign most of England-in-France was won back for France. Richard the Lion-Heart, son of Henry II, and John, his brother, were the principal opponents of Philip, who outwitted Richard and outfought John. A coalition formed by John was defeated by Philip in the battle of Bouvines where, for the first time, the common people of France fought beside the nobility against a foreign foe. Philip favored the communes and the communes favored him. He won more new territory for the crown than any other of the Capetians, and left his successor for the first time superior in power to any of his vassals. Philip paved the streets of Paris and built a new wall around it.

His son, Louis VIII, imitated the policies of his father and reigned for three years only. As prince he had the experience of nearly becoming king of England, but his chief claim to fame is that he was the husband of Blanche of Castille and the father of Louis IX, Saint Louis. Louis VIII died when he was thirty-nine and for ten years thereafter his widow was regent. Nobles of the kingdom sought to overthrow the royal house, but Queen Blanche showed admirable skill and

energy in defeating their ends. In 1236 she turned over to her son « a consolidated and respected authority ».

Then began the famous reign of the only king of France who ever became a saint. None of the rest of them ever came near becoming saints. Some of the others may have exceeded Saint Louis in ability, and certain ones competed with him in piety, but none combined goodness with strength as he did. His sins, if any, have never yet found him out; he remains the one example in history of king and saint combined. He defeated Henry III of England, and then gave back territory that had been won from him. He acted as judge between the pope and the emperor, between the king of England and her lords. He died in Africa on the last of the Crusades leaving his family and his kingdom the most powerful in Europe.

Philip III the Hardy supplemented the reign of his father somewhat as Louis VIII supplemented the reign of Philip Augustus. One of his sons became Philip IV and another was the father of the first of the Valois kings. In this reign the king suffered on account of the misrule in southern Italy and Sicily of his uncle, Charles of Anjou. The « Sicilian Vespers », incited by the king of Aragon, led to a campaign beyond the Pyrenees. Returning from that unsuccessful campaign, the king died.

His young son, Philip IV the Fair, became one of France's least known, least loved, and greatest kings. Of his reign and of the reigns of his three sons you have just read. With him we come to the end of the direct Capetians who were :

Hugh Capet	987-996.	Louis IX Saint Louis	1226-1270.
Robert the Pious	996-1031.	Philip III the Hardy	1270-1285.
Henry I	1031-1060.	Philip IV the Fair	1285-1314.
Philip I	1060-1108.	Louis X	
Louis VI the Fat	1108-1137.	the Turbulent	1314-1316.
Louis VII the Young	1137-1180.	Philip V the Tall	1316-1322.
Philip II Augustus	1180-1223.	Charles IV the Fair	1322-1328.
Louis VIII the Lion	1223-1226.		

Contemporary kings in England were :

Ethelred II the Unready	979-1016.	William II Rufus	1087-1100.
Edmund II Ironside	1016.	Henry I	1100-1135.
Canute	1016-1035.	Stephen	1135-1154.
Harold	1035-1040.	Henry II	1154-1189.
Hardicanute	1040-1042.	Richard I Lion Heart	1189-1199.
Edward the Confessor	1042-1066.	John Lackland	1199-1216.
Harold II	1066.	Henry III	1216-1272.
William the Conqueror	1066-1087.	Edward I	1272-1307.
		Edward II	1307-1327.
		Edward III	1327-1377.

CHAPTER FORTY-ONE

THE LATER CRUSADES TO OR TOWARD THE HOLY LAND

The Second Crusade crashed in Asia Minor. Many crusaders, to save their skins, embraced the faith of the Prophet. A warm welcome at Jerusalem was followed by disaster at Damascus. Enemy reinforcements arrived while the crusaders were eating oranges. The Third Crusade was the one Scott told about in the Talisman. The Fourth and Fifth lost their amateur standing. On the Sixth, Jerusalem was purchased by an excommunicated emperor. The Seventh and Eighth were the Crusades of Saint Louis and above suspicion.

The First Crusade was described in Chapter Twenty-Seven. The second one began in 1147. It was on that one that Suger tried his best to persuade Louis VII not to go. There were no kings on the First Crusade and Suger was in favor of continuing that precedent. However, the absence of the kings had been adversely commented on by others. Louis was keen to go. That affair of Christians burned in a church at Vitry troubled his conscience, and besides, had not Conrad III of Germany announced that he was going? It would hardly do, Louis claimed, for the king of France to stay at home.

Saint Bernard, the most influential man of the Twelfth Century, was the apostle of the new Crusade. He preached it from the famous hill of Vézelay, under the shadow of the Church of Mary Magdalene, where later knights of England and of France made rendezvous and, in their turn, took the long road to the

east. Bernard raised up so great a following that again it was necessary to take the land route rather than the shorter one by sea.

The personnel of the Second Crusade was not admired by its saintly instigator. He, even more than Pope Urban, had practical as well as spiritual considerations in mind when he preached the taking of the cross. He is recorded as having written, « In that countless multitude you will find few except the

Saint Bernard at Vézelay preaches the Third Crusade.

utterly wicked and impious, the sacrilegious, homicides and perjurers, whose departure is a double gain. Europe rejoices to lose them and Palestine to gain them; they are useful in both ways, in their absence from here and their presence there. »

The German host preceded the French and came to disaster in the interior of Asia Minor. Conrad returned to Constantinople with but a pitiful remnant of his forces. Louis, at the head of 150,000, more prudently followed the coast. There he could receive supplies from Venetian and Genoese ships that convoyed the Crusade. But Asia Minor has a long and cruel coast, and there too Turks barred the way. At last it proved impossible to go farther except by

water, and there were not ships enough for all. The king and the nobles went on board; the others were left to their fate. That fate was death at the hands of the Turks, save for those who declared that Christ had deceived them and embraced the faith of the Prophet.

Those who went by ship with the king finally reached Jerusalem. The faithful Christians who yet remained in the Holy City gave them a warm welcome. Bearing olive branches and singing, « Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord », the people poured forth to greet the new crusaders who had come to save them. The colony at Jerusalem was hard pressed. Edessa had been recaptured and all Palestine was threatened. It was decided to attack Damascus. The attack was successful at first, and then discord arose as to who should become the Christian prince of the famous city of gardens.

Damascus, « Pearl of the East », was surrounded by groves of cedars of Lebanon and gardens and orchards where oranges and lemons grew and other luscious fruits. Through these irrigated gardens and orchards the crusaders fought along little paths by hidden rippling waters where two men could hardly walk abreast. They won their way to the city walls, and, sure of victory, stopped there to eat oranges and to award the prize before it had been won. Meanwhile, enemy reinforcements arrived, stealing up through the gardens. The Christians, astonished and dismayed beyond measure, had to drop their stolen oranges and retreat.

Louis returned to France, bringing but three hundred back with him of all the host that had started. At home, as you may recall, there was no warm welcome for him from Queen Eleanor. Damascus and then divorce; Suger was right; Louis might better have stayed at home.

The failure of the Second Crusade sealed the fate of

Christian rule at Jerusalem. Hemmed in by the enemy and abandoned by those who had already paid all too dearly to win her, the Holy City, in 1187, fell to Saladin, great leader of the Saracens.

The Third was the last of the great Crusades. To go on it, there was assembled the finest force the feudal world had yet produced. The leaders were Philip Augustus of France, Richard the Lion Heart of England, and Frederick Barbarossa of Germany. The combination of such a force with such leadership seemed irresistible. The start was made in 1189.

The Germans, as before, led the way. Again they met with disaster in Asia Minor. Frederick won an important victory over the Turks and captured an important city, but he was drowned in a little river. Without their great leader, the Germans could not prevail against the enemy. They dispersed.

After their rendezvous at Vézelay, Philip sailed from Genoa, Richard from Marseille, and they passed the winter together in Sicily. Rivalries and jealousies developed during that sojourn in Sicily; the forces were not on friendly terms when finally they reached Palestine. There the brilliant deeds of Richard far outshone those of Philip. Acre was recaptured. Philip soon feigned illness and returned with speed to France; we have already considered what he did as to Richard's territories after he returned.

All that Richard won in the east was glory. He could not capture Jerusalem and ended the Crusade by signing a treaty with Saladin. Only the ports between Jaffa and Tyre remained to the Christians. On his way home, Richard, you will recall, was made prisoner by the duke of Austria, a fellow-crusader whom he had offended at the taking of Acre.

Royalty took no part in the Fourth or the Fifth

Crusades. They were not on the grand scale of the first three. They were rather the private affairs of certain feudal lords who sought thereby to win new dominions. The Fourth (1202-1204) is famous, not for the capture of Jerusalem, but for the conquest of Constantinople. It was led by Baudoin, Count of Flanders. Villehardouin, one of the knights who went along, wrote an account of it.

He said of the arrival at Constantinople, « When the knights had cast their eyes far and wide over this town which was queen of all others, the boldest among them trembled, and each man looked at his arms, of which he would soon have need. All armed, they leaped into the sea, waist-deep, in battle array, sword in hand, with the brave archers and the crossbowmen. The Greeks made a great show of checking them. But when it came to lowered lances, the Greeks turned their backs, fleeing and leaving the shore in their possession. And true it is that no battle-field was ever more boldly won. »

The crusaders found Constantinople torn by rival factions. With the pretext of attacking a usurper, they attacked and won the city. Baudoin himself became emperor. That was in 1204. Baudoin tried to establish a feudal regime upon the ruins of the Greek empire, but the Bulgarians without and the Greeks within were too much for the new regime. It came to an end in 1261.

The Fifth Crusade (1219-1221), led by the king of Hungary and John of Brienne, a French nobleman, went by the way of Egypt. Damietta was captured, but the climate of the Delta and their own controversies soon led to a withdrawal of the noble invaders.

The Sixth Crusade (1228-1229) was that of Frederick II, undertaken while its leader was under the ban of

the Church. This was at least the most diplomatic of the Crusades. Frederick, as previously stated, purchased the little kingdom of Jerusalem from the sultan of Egypt who was then its master. He showed as much interest in the Moslems as he did in the Christians, and returned to Italy with a menagerie, but without any guarantees as to the future of the kingdom he had purchased.

The Seventh and the Eighth Crusades were the last, and they never would have occurred except for Saint Louis who was their leader. In 1248 he sailed from Aigues-Mortes, passed the winter in Cyprus, and proceeded thence to Egypt where he captured Damietta. Saint Louis had more in mind than the rescue of Jerusalem; he wished to combat Islamism, the enemy of Christianity. Marching against Cairo, he was stopped by the floods of the Nile and lost the battle of Mansourah. His weakened army was surrounded; he was compelled to give up Damietta and to pay ransom, but he went on to Palestine nevertheless. There he remained three years, encouraging the Christian residents and fortifying the few places they still possessed.

The Eighth Crusade (1270) was brief and tragic. This was the one in which Louis perished beneath the walls of Tunis where he had hoped to establish Christian rule. With his death the Crusades ended. « Christian Europe forgot the road to the east », and, twenty years later, Acre, last to survive among the strongholds established in Palestine, fell into the hands of the infidels.

The Crusades, with all their appearances of failure, accomplished much. For one thing, they retarded for four centuries the Turkish invasion of Europe. Also,

and of more pressing importance than keeping the Turks without, they added to peace within by ridding Christendom of many « turbulent barons ». This great stirring up and moving about of peoples inevitably contributed to intellectual, industrial, and commercial progress. In the east, arts were found that hitherto were unknown in the west. The crusaders learned only on their travels how to transform iron into steel, how to color glass, how to manufacture silk. When at Chartres or elsewhere you come under the spell of the marvellous colored glass of the Thirteenth Century, remember that the secret of it was brought back from the Crusades, and has been long since lost again. Coffee and spices, cane sugar, asparagus, hemp, flax, buckwheat, oranges, lemons, and Damson plums from Damascus, all these came back with the crusaders. The French word for buckwheat, beloved of pheasants and partridges, is *sarrasin*, which bespeaks its origin. The magnificent cedars of Lebanon you see here and there on châteaux grounds in France are said to have sprung from seeds brought home by the crusaders from Damascus; they may have dropped their oranges but they kept their cedar seeds.

Thus the Crusades ministered both to the minds and to the bodies of the people of the west. Lifting the veil of darkness that had obscured the Middle Ages, they revealed new, illimitable possibilities that stirred men's minds and quickened the progress of all humanity.

CHAPTER FORTY-TWO

THE CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

France, like the United States, had a civil war between the north and the south, but hers came in the Thirteenth Century. As with us, the north won, but, also as with us, the south had much to be said in its favor. The southerners of France had charming manners, liberal ideas, and uncertain morals. The war began as a crusade, and barbarities occurred at Beziers. Savage Simon de Montfort ruled the conquered country with iron hand, but was finally felled with a stone. Count Raymond made a penitential peace and Languedoc later reverted to the crown. This war occurred before Saint Louis began to reign.

With the numerous Crusades to or toward the Holy Land it is common to associate another that occurred wholly within the frontiers of modern France. That was the crusade against the Albigenses. It occurred at the very beginning of the Thirteenth Century and developed into something like a civil war between the north and south.

For nearly seven centuries after the great invasions, France south of the Loire was a country apart. Often it tried to free itself entirely from control by the north. Aquitaine, Languedoc, and Provence developed a civilization of their own, in many ways a more brilliant and more cultured civilization than that of the north. There Gallo-Roman traditions survived, the people prospered, and republican cities held their own right well in a generous and comparatively gentle feudal society. In that warm and sunny country Spanish and Arab elements joined with the Latins in freedom of thought

and action unknown in the north. The court at Toulouse was one of the most brilliant in the world. There the troubadours celebrated love and satirized the priests and bishops. Life was warm and tolerant. Barons and burghers « prospered without jealousy and gave peace to the country ». But in regard to the Church, the south was out of step with the times. Religion was held as lightly as morals, and tolerance made fertile ground for heresy. Even tortures of the Inquisition failed to stamp out freedom of thought and action in the brave south. It needed only the breaking of the bonds of the Church to accomplish entire separation from the north. If heresy triumphed, it meant an end of political unity for France as well as an end to the religious unity of the west.

Now there had grown strong in the south a sect that failed to recognize the authority of the pope and challenged many of the tenets of the Church. That sect had a long history. It descended indirectly from Christian communities in the northwest of Italy that in the Tenth Century were already separated from Rome. The beliefs of these early communities spread into the valleys of Piedmont and of Dauphiny. The name Vaudois was given to these early dissenters who were hunted down and suppressed with cruelty. But their ideas lived on and travelled as ideas do without respect for the frontiers or the laws of any land. A somewhat similar sect grew in the south where it had its center of greatest strength at Albi in the county of Toulouse, from which the name Albigenses. The Albigenses rejected the Old Testament, and the virgin birth of Christ. They also rejected the offices of worship established by the Church of Rome. They had an organized clergy of several thousand priests who preached a pure and austere life. The sect grew and flourished among both nobles and commoners in its tolerant, easy-going, and romantic environment.

Innocent III, aware of the danger, did his utmost to suppress the Albigenses. For his measures of suppression he sought the support of Philip Augustus, who prudently held aloof. He sent legates to Raymond, Count of Toulouse, demanding that he suppress heresy in his own and adjoining territories. Raymond was

Count Raymond of Toulouse does penance at the door of the church of Saint-Gilles.

not a user of violence and was indifferent as to religious doctrines; besides, the sentiment of his barons was favorable to the Albigenses. They were of good repute. The exhortations of the papal legates left him cold. On their way back to Rome one of them was unfortunately stabbed at St-Gilles by a servant of the count who later did penance for this foolish act of one of his minions.

Raymond was excommunicated and the monks of Ci-

teaux (the Cistercians), far more fanatical than the heretics, preached a crusade of extermination against them and against Raymond. This crusade was authorized by the pope in 1208, absolution of sins being promised to all who took part in it. There were always plenty of heavy sinners eager to take advantage of such a chance to escape the fires of hell in which they so implicitly believed. Many catholic lords of the north made haste to the south followed by a host of sinful men-at-arms. A force reckoned at two hundred thousand marched on Beziers where Albigenses were numerous. It was demanded that all heretics be surrendered. The heroic people of Beziers refused to do this, so heretics and good Christians died there together. The abbot of Citeaux, spiritual leader of the crusade, was asked how the catholics were to be told from the heretics. « Kill them all », replied the abbot, « God will know his own. »

There is an ancient « History of the War of the Albigenses » whose anonymous author recounts that the people of Beziers fled before their murderers and took refuge in the great church of Saint-Nazaire. The priests of this church were to ring the bells when all the heretics were killed But the bells never rang for the good reason that even the priests were cut down before they could reach the ropes. Not even women and children were spared from the sword. The city was pillaged and burned until « not one being in all Beziers remained alive »

The crusaders marched on to Carcassonne where the people escaped the fate of Beziers only by fleeing through a subterranean passage that led miles away into the country.

After these conquests, the papal legate, in the name of the Church, offered the county of Beziers to one after another of the great lords of the north who were there.

The duke of Burgundy, the count of Nevers, and the count of Saint-Pol all refused it; they had had enough of the sickening business. But among those present was a certain renowned and ambitious captain who had recently returned from the Fourth Crusade. He was Simon de Montfort, baron of a small domain near Paris. Simon was at the sacking of Constantinople; the blood of fellow Christians held no terror for him. Scorning the scruples of the others, he took command, and was confirmed in his new authority by the pope. Most of the other crusaders went home, leaving it to savage Simon to conduct a merciless campaign in the half-subdued country.

De Montfort is described as, « a tall man of imposing aspect, a brave captain as well as a skilful politician, but austere, fanatical and ambitious ». For more than ten years he ruled the country round Beziers with a rule of iron, pitilessly pursuing and destroying the heretics.

Meanwhile, Raymond of Toulouse did his utmost to make peace with the Church. He even accompanied the crusaders in the attacks on Beziers and Carcassonne; these towns were not in his own domain. He went to Rome to plead with the pope. But the Church remained obdurate; Raymond could make his peace only at the price of proscription of all his subjects who were Albigenses. More than that, he was ordered to leave his domains and go to serve among the Hospitalers, a religious order of knights who served the sick. That was too much even for peace-loving Raymond. He gave battle to Simon de Montfort at Castelnaudary in 1212. Simon won. Only Toulouse and Montauban were left to Raymond. The king of Aragon, his brother-in-law, came to his succor, but Montfort was then supported by the new king of France, Louis VIII, the son of Philip Augustus. The forces of Aragon and Toulouse were defeated in a battle near Muret. Tou-

louse opened its gates to the victors. De Montfort now became for a time count of Toulouse, being confirmed as such by the Church.

However, the country people refused to ratify the decision of the Church and, led by the son of Raymond, rose in a last desperate revolt. De Montfort, whose cruelties made him hated, was cornered and killed with a stone. That was in 1218. His son Amaury soon found he could not hold his disputed patrimony and left for the north. He generously yielded all his claims in the south to the king of France.

Amaury seemed to lack both the luck and the ability of his brother, Simon Junior, who became earl of Leicester, husband of the king's sister and master of England when England revolted against his brother-in-law, Henry III. It was a remarkable family. Father Simon has the honor to be portrayed in one of the windows of the choir of the cathedral at Chartres; he had the glory, as it seemed to the world of his day, of being a great destroyer of heretics.

When you ride out of Paris some fine day along the highroad that runs westward through Dreux and on towards Brittany, make a turn to the left before you have gone very far. Thus you may come to an ancient village above which on a little hill the ruins of a castle rise. From the ivy-clad donjon you may look far and wide over billowing countryside, fair in the heart of France. Almost at your feet there will be a little cloistered cemetery, still used by the village. The village bears the name Montfort-l'Amaury, and the ruins and the cemetery are all that is left of the old home of the proud and adventurous Montforts. They were great men in their day.

The campaign that Louis VIII made in the south to make good his claims has already been described; the

king died on his way home from it. Credit for the final winning of Languedoc for the crown of France belongs to Blanche of Castille under whose regency Raymond of Toulouse did penance in Paris, recognized the king as his suzerain, and affianced his daughter to the king's brother. That brother, Alphonse of Poitiers, succeeded Raymond, and did much to reconcile the south to his beneficent rule. When he died, all Languedoc reverted to the crown.

The crusade against the Albigenses, and the civil war that ensued therefrom, ended only when Raymond made his vows of penance before the doors of Notre-Dame.

CHAPTER FORTY-THREE.

FEATURES OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. ABELARD. THE UNIVERSITY. GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE. THE FAIRS.

A great teacher appears in Paris and is persecuted by enemies. He was the hero of one of the world's most famous love stories. The University begins. The students speak Latin, steal signs, and chase monks. Some are laid low by the monk's trusty men. Poetry becomes popular and troubadours are welcomed at castles. A new style in buildings appears in the Ile-de-France. Gothic architecture was not Gothic, but it was good. Its monuments endure and have not been outdone. The cathedrals of this century continue to be copied. Everybody went to the fairs.

The intellectual movement of the Thirteenth Century was measured by the progress of public instruction. Since Charlemagne there had been no schools other than those attached to churches and to abbeys. Of these the most famous were the archbishop's school at Reims and the school of the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris.

The most illustrious of the early teachers in Paris was Abelard. His brilliant argumentation and eloquence attracted thousands of scholars. To hear him, students came from all the provinces of France, from England, and from Germany. His love for Heloise and its tragic outcome is a classic story. Abelard, whose very success spelled his failure, was tried before the ecclesiastical court at Sens on the charge of heretical teachings. King Louis VII presided at that trial and Saint Bernard conducted the prosecution. Abelard was ordered to be

imprisoned and his books to be destroyed by fire. Two years later, he died. This wonderful teacher, a pioneer of free thought, paid the supreme penalty for his fearless teaching and his love of the quest for truth. He ended his days as a retired, heart-broken monk and died in 1142. The beautiful Heloise, who became a nun, was united with him in death. Their tomb is in the famous Père-Lachaise cemetery in Paris.

Early in the Thirteenth Century private gifts led to the foundation of colleges in which poor students were lodged and nourished. It was especially in Paris that these colleges were established. In 1200, under Philip Augustus, there was formed a corporation of colleges called the University of Paris. The chief officer of the University was called the rector, as he is even to this day. The professors lived in the colleges with the students and gave instruction in an informal, intimate way. This general plan of university organization was copied in other countries.

Certain colleges were founded in Paris for foreign students. Among these were the colleges of Lombardy, of Scotland, of Ireland, and of Constantinople. Similarly today, a group of national student-centers forms the new University City near the Orléans Gate.

The old colleges were clustered on the Hill of Sainte-Geneviève, across the river and south of Notre-Dame. The most famous of them was the Sorbonne, a theological seminary founded by Robert Sorbon, a chaplain of Saint Louis. It has become common in modern times to refer to the entire University of Paris as the Sorbonne. In the Thirteenth Century all instruction was given in Latin which was still the official language of court and Church. The students commonly conversed in Latin; hence the name, Latin Quarter. The work of the University was organized under four faculties. The central faculty gave instruction in what were recognized as the seven liberal arts, namely,

grammar, philosophy, rhetoric, astrology, arithmetic, geometry, and music. The other faculties were those of law, theology, and physics. The famous medical school of those days was at Montpellier.

The syllogistic method of Aristotle was used as the chief instrument of instruction. More attention was given to the form of a syllogism than to the soundness of its premises. Translations made by Arab scholars from the Greek, and then by Jews from the Arabic, had revealed the works of the great Greek philosopher to the western world. The rigor of his method appealed to the spirit of the age; it was believed that by use of it the truth might be revealed as to any problem of being or substance. Furious controversies developed in connection with the application of this method to questions of belief. Saint Bernard and Saint Thomas Aquinas are names celebrated in connection with these controversies.

The life of the students of the Latin Quarter, like the life of students today, was not always sedate. Both professors and students, under the charter of the University, enjoyed the « privileges of clergy ». It appears that they sometimes abused these privileges. In Paris, Duruy reports, « there were from fifteen to twenty thousand scholars who were not under the authority of the city magistrates, might not be arrested for debt, and often disturbed the city by their feuds and debauches, though seven popes and a great number of bishops and cardinals came from their numbers during the Thirteenth Century alone ».

Another account describes the students as, « arrogant and turbulent; quarrellers and brawlers. Abusing their immunities, they flouted civil officers and terrorized the citizens. They would not keep to the middle of the street, as was proper. They pulled up boundary marks and tore down signs. They stole chickens and robbed the grocery shops. If one of them was

arrested, the whole student body accompanied by their professors would leave the city and move out to the surrounding villages until amends had been made. » As compared with its medieval counterpart, modern undergraduate and professorial behavior has perhaps improved a little.

The University encouraged outdoor sports. It owned a large tract of vacant land that lay between the river and the present Boulevard of St-Germain and ran from the Street of the Holy Fathers westward to the Invalides. This tract was called the Pré-aux-Clercs, a name that still survives on shop signs in that quarter. There the students went for their games, whatever they were. But the monks of a near-by abbey, St-Germain-des-Prés, had a rival claim to the same land. One of the favorite games appears to have been to chase out the monks One day in 1278 the much harassed monks called retainers to their aid and a battle royal ensued. Several students were struck down and stirred no more. For that, by the king's order, the abbey was heavily fined and the parents of the dead scholars indemnified. The University was in better favor then with the temporal than with the spiritual powers.

The development of literature at this time was a thing quite apart from the schools. Their devotion to the Aristotelian method discouraged imagination and led to intellectual sterility. But this method exercised no restraint on the minds of the common people. Popular poetry appeared in the *langue d'oc* of the south and in the *langue d'oil* of the north, both vulgarizations of Latin. From them the French language evolved. You may recall that the earliest written record of primitive French is the oath of Strasbourg taken by Charles the Bald and Louis the German after the battle of Fontanet in 841.

The troubadours of the south sang their lyrics and

the *trouvères* of the north recited fables and epic poems. Unfortunately, the war of the Albigenses silenced forever the delicate poetry of the troubadours. The poets were wandering minstrels in those days. They passed along the great routes and broke the feudal solitude as they passed. Rapt audiences in dull castles listened eagerly to their declamations.

Poetic accounts of great deeds were their chief stock-in-trade. The *Chansons de Geste* (songs of heroism) appeared in the Eleventh Century and perfectly reflected the tastes of the feudal world. They were of three cycles; the Carolingian, which drew its subjects from national history; the antique, inspired by Greek and Roman history; and the Breton cycle of songs of the Round Table in which were celebrated the fabulous King Arthur and his knights. Religious fervor, courage in battle, and the love of ladies were the favorite themes. The oldest and perhaps the most beautiful of the songs of gesture was the song of Roland.

The two important prose works of the Thirteenth Century were the History of the Fourth Crusade by Villehardouin who went on it, and the Life of Saint Louis by Joinville who passed most of his life in the company of his pious hero. Both of these works are of great historic interest and of slight literary value.

The records in words of the life of the Thirteenth Century are meagre and few, but the records in monuments are many. They wrought miracles with stone and made pictures on glass that reflect the life of the times as no writing does. The churches and cathedrals, with what remains of their carvings and colored windows, throw more light on the life of the Middle Ages than all that is in the archives. The world still marvels at their beauty, and envies the skill of workmen whose like may not be found today. In the presence of Notre-Dame of Paris or of Chartres, of Beauvais or of Amiens,

we know that imagination and the love of beauty had a larger place in the life of the people seven centuries ago than they have today.

Sculptors, painters, and architects served the Church. The primitive austerity of Roman architecture became modified by such excess of ornamentation that Saint Bernard sought a change of style. He said that the curious paintings in the churches distracted

A troubadour sings in the great hall of the castle.

from pious thoughts the minds of those who prayed. At the end of the Twelfth Century there appeared in the Ile-de-France, along with the Roman, the pointed-arch, ogival, or Gothic style. Gothic, consecrated by use, is the wrong word. The new style had nothing to do with the Goths; they were long since gone. It was used at first as a word meaning strange, as we might say outlandish.

The new architecture gave an appearance of lightness. Naves and spires and facades mounted higher

toward heaven. Walls and columns lost their massiveness; the nave of a cathedral became like a grove of tall and slender trees. The openings in the walls were larger; against the light falling through great windows the curves of fine stone-work were like a tracery of branches against the sky.

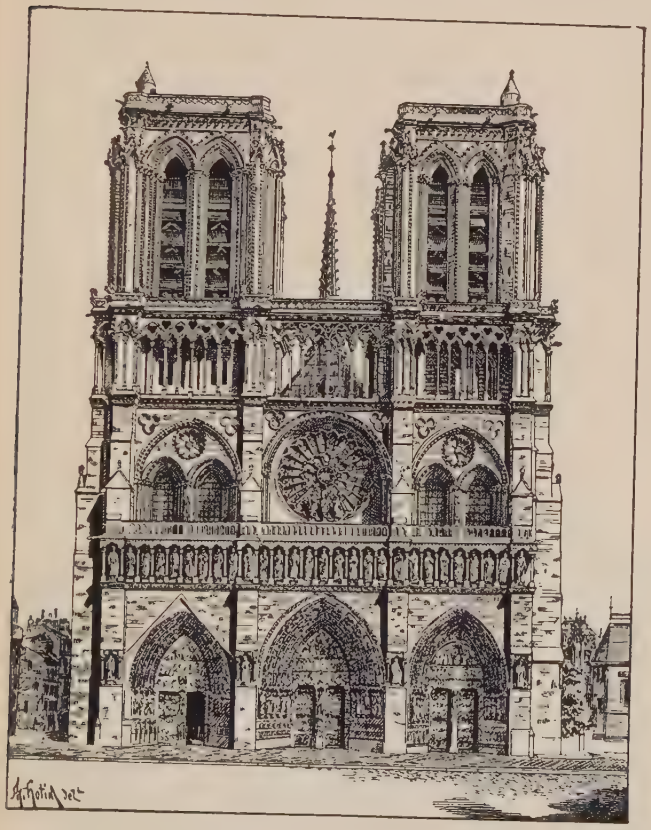
Flying buttresses that bore the weight of the roof made possible the larger windows. New kinds of sculpture appeared; gargoyles and great bas-reliefs that portrayed scenes from the Old and New Testament. In these carvings, not all taken from scriptural sources, one may read the life of the Middle Ages.

This new art expressed well the religious thought of the times that produced it. We have said that the character of Saint-Louis fitted the ecclesiastical architecture of his time. If Saint-Bernard wished for churches more fit for prayer, he had his wish fulfilled. The churches themselves became prayers. Their long upspringing lines seemed to lead pious thoughts straight to the throne of God and gave material form to humble petitions.

It is difficult to find anything more beautiful than Gothic architecture at its best, or anything more dull than technical descriptions thereof. We shall attempt none. It is better that you find your way untrammelled by too much information to the cathedrals of Paris, Chartres, Amiens, Reims, Rouen, Beauvais, Bourges, Troyes, or to any of a hundred churches of that time. No book can tell you adequately of their beauty. You must become aware of that for yourself.

Gothic architecture may have such beauty as affects the breath, like fine music, but, better in that respect than music, it remains. Look again and there it is; none of its enchantment has fled. Look by dim light upon the towers of Chartres or Rouen, and try then to plan a sin, to think ignobly, to compromise with weakness. That can be done only with difficulty. Their beauty

puts to shame all that is unfit to keep them company; their nobility impels what is false to flight.



Notre-Dame of Paris.

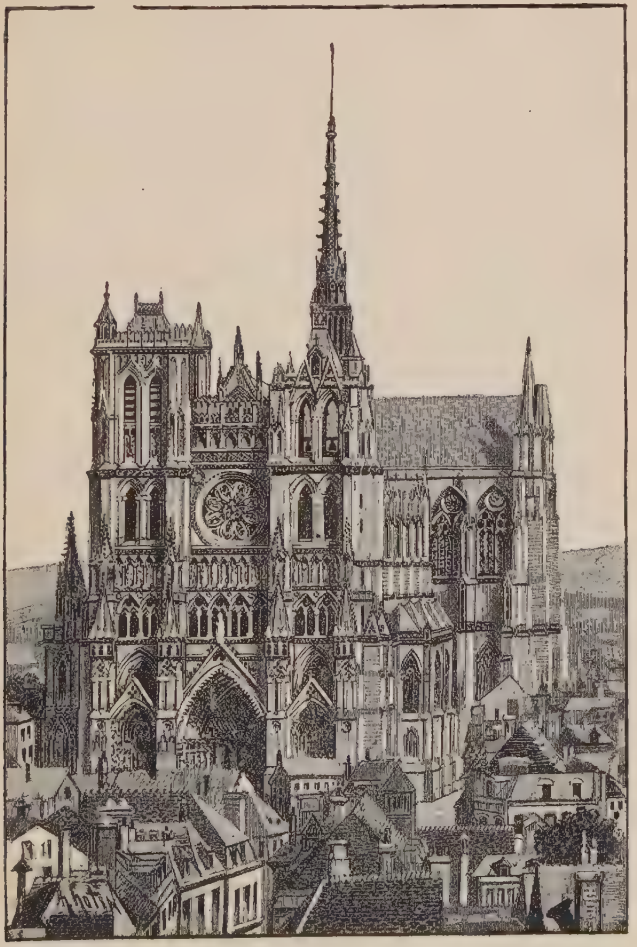
The fairs were an important and interesting feature of the life of the Middle Ages. We have already considered the way in which the markets in Merovingian

times centered around the church and made a sort of community center there. Similarly the great fairs that came to be established had important social effects. They were international meeting places where Italians and Germans mingled with the French, and even Mussulman merchants of the east brought their wares. In a time when travel was precarious, these fairs were of such importance for the distribution of goods that care was taken to keep them in reasonable order. The cities where they were held at regular seasons gave assurances to visiting merchants that they would be comfortably lodged and protected.

The most famous of the fairs were held on the plain of Saint-Denis near Paris (the Lendit fair), at Provins and Troyes in Champagne, at Lyon, at Narbonne, and at Beaucaire. There temporary cities were set up with areas reserved for each of the principal trades. All the luxury and arts of the Middle Ages were represented, and all the amusements. These international expositions were the great events of the year. Ideas were exchanged as well as goods. The fairs contributed much to the development of social unity in France.

Fairs and markets are still an important feature of life in France. You encounter them wherever you go, lineal descendants of their prototypes of the Middle Ages. Your guide for motoring gives warning of the days on which the streets of a given town may be expected to be so encumbered that your car can hardly pass. The fairs have become as much *fête* as *foire*; merry-making is just as important there as buying and selling. Visitors often express wonder that established shops do not succeed in suppressing the open-air competition of itinerant vendors who undersell them. One might more reasonably ask why the markets do not suppress the shops. They and the fairs have a longer history and a greater popularity. The mar-

ket is still a scene of the social life of the community.



The cathedral of Amiens.

CHAPTER FORTY-FOUR

THE FIRST VALOIS KING OF FRANCE. EDWARD III OF ENGLAND, AND EVENTS THAT LED TO THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

Two foolish kings start the world's longest war. Philip was a throw-back and Edward an anachronism. Defeated at Cassel, the Flemings support the English. The War of the Succession, also called the War of the two Jeannes, begins in Brittany, the French and the English taking important parts therein. Philip of France beheads Breton knights.

Now the ruthless rhythm of history swings to the darker side. All the brightness of the Thirteenth Century seemed extinguished in the gloom of tragedy that enveloped France in the century that followed. Those fine Gothic cathedrals and churches whose beauty marked the turning of men's minds to higher things became witnesses of their folly. Greed, cruelty, and stupidity again held sway.

Philip VI, the first of the Valois, began his reign under auspicious circumstances. Under the Capetians the royal government had become stronger than eve before. It directly controlled two-thirds of the territory of France, wealth and population had increased, agriculture had made great advances, and the cities were prosperous and contented. The nobles had learned to respect the royal power and to leave the commoners in peace. But this very prosperity seemed to bring disaster in its train. Philip was not the man to take a safe course in time of peace, to say nothing of steering safely through storms that were about to break.

In his reign the Hundred Years' War with England began. It continued through the four reigns that followed his. Throughout its long course it so dominated the history of France that the kings who were its contemporaries seem but incidental. Until the late Great War eclipsed it, this was the greatest war that the soil of France had suffered. We need to look at it as a whole before we consider it in some detail.

Edward III of England had a claim to the throne of France through his mother Isabella, a daughter of Philip the Fair. It had been declared by the States-General that a woman, in view of the Salic law on that point, might not reign in France. Edward himself concurred in this idea, declaring that, in his opinion, « the kingdom of France was too great for a woman to hold, by reason of the imbecility of her sex ». However, though a woman might not reign in France, might not a mother transmit the right to reign to her son? This question was the basis of Edward's claim. He was a nephew of the last of the direct Capetians, whereas Philip of Valois was only a cousin. A complication was added by the fact that Louis X, the eldest son of Philip the Fair, left a daughter, Jeanne of Evreux, whose son was Charles the Bad, later king of Navarre, of whom we shall hear more presently. Thus, if Edward's claim was good, the claim of Charles the Bad would have been still better. The matter was really settled when the dying wishes of Charles IV were respected by an assembly of lords, and his cousin Philip was crowned at Reims. The later claims of Edward were mere pretext.

A brief excursion into English history is desirable in this connection. You will recall that, in the time of Philip the Fair, Edward I was reigning across the Channel. He was a grandson of King John and a son of Henry III. It was Henry III who was sustained b

Saint Louis in his decision as to the Provisions of Oxford, but who was not sustained by his own country. He was overthrown in a civil war in which another Frenchman, Simon de Montfort, was the leader of the rebels.

Edward I (1272-1307) was a great success. He was the first king after the Conquest who used the language of his subjects as his mother tongue. He did much to strengthen the kingdom, establishing a form of government in which the interests of all classes were so united that it still endures. In his time the English constitution was established on its present basis. Edward's principal wars were with Scotland and Wales. He conquered Wales, but had less success with Scotland, which formed at that time an alliance with France that endured for three centuries and had much to do with the difficulties in French and English relationships.

Edward's successor was his son, Edward II. He it was who married Isabella of France, thereby furnishing at least the pretext for all the trouble that was to follow. This Edward was such a failure that he was suspected of being a changeling. It did not seem possible that he was a true son of his great father. He was defeated by the Scots under Robert Bruce at Bannockburn in 1314. Isabella « suffered many humiliations at Edward's hands », and, in the end, led the party opposed to him. She took her son to Paris and refused to return when her husband ordered her to do so. When finally she did return, it was with an armed force, and with the purpose of destroying the Despencers who were the king's favorites. With Mortimer, a great Welsh noble, as ally, this end was accomplished. The king himself became a captive. Parliament chose his son to succeed him, and Edward II was murdered in his bed at Berkeley Castle.

Edward III (1327-1377), the one who started the

Hundred Years' War, was only fifteen when he came to the throne. Mortimer, his mother's ally and close friend, was still master of the kingdom and abused his power. The young king had Mortimer seized, hanged, drawn, and quartered. The queen mother remained in retirement for the rest of her days. This Edward was good looking and a good warrior, but not a good king. His victories over the French really gained nothing for England. Like Philip of France, his cousin and dearest enemy, he spent vast sums on pompous pleasures. He had a stately presence and a long beard, but little sense of duty. The chronology of the reigns of these three Edwards and their predecessors is given at the end of Chapter Forty.

Turning back to France, we find in her first Valois king a throw-back to feudal times. Philip was crowned in 1328. He entirely failed to appreciate the progress that the state had made since the time when a primary prerogative of a king was to enjoy himself at the expense of his subjects. He belonged to the Twelfth Century rather than to the Fourteenth. He had no idea of employing the revenues of the crown for the good of the country; no foresight for the future of his own house. An old French history says of him, « He spent money madly on fêtes of the court and in ruinous extravagances in favor of the nobles with whom he loved to surround himself, despising the commoners. He was a true king of the theatre, mistaking pleasures for duty, pomp for power, and pleasure rides for war. He was intoxicated by the applause of the barons and paid no attention to the dull and heavy murmurs of popular discontent. »

The Hundred Years' War, begun by these two foolish kings, falls into two periods, one in the Fourteenth, the other in the Fifteenth Century. These

periods were separated by a truce of thirty-five years. In both periods the war was waged entirely on French soil, and in both the English were at first successful. France, vanquished by a foreign foe, went through all the horrors of civil wars at the same time. But twice she rose through all her miseries and drove out the invaders.

In the first period, England was victorious throughout the reigns of Philip and of John the Good. The French were disastrously defeated at Crécy and again at Poitiers; that period ran from 1337 to 1364. Between 1364 and 1380, Charles V the Wise, aided by the great captain Bertrand Duguesclin, drove the English back and won for France a long truce. Hostilities began again in 1415 when the poor mad king, Charles VI, was on the throne of France. Agincourt was the principal scene of English victory then, and, a few years later, an English royal child was crowned king of France at Notre-Dame in Paris. Joan of Arc appeared and saved France for the dauphin. Charles VII was crowned at Reims, and in 1453 the English were finally driven out.

In the same year that Philip came to the throne, the burghers of Flanders revolted against their count, Louis of Nevers, who was guilty of violating legal privileges. Louis, driven out, came to tell his troubles to the new king. The nobles of France had a traditional grudge against the burghers of Flanders. You recall the canal of Courtrai where commoners had the audacity to confront chivalry, where French nobility floundered under Flemish spears and eight thousand spurs were taken to decorate the churches of the Lowlands. Philip, when Louis came, had been giving a series of tournaments and fêtes to celebrate his accession to the throne. He thought it would be fine to lead all his brilliant knights on a ride from the parties at

Paris to the fields of Flanders, there to crush the justly rebellious burghers.

The Flemings entrenched themselves on Mont-Cassel, a little hill that became famous again in the Great War. There they set up a huge image of a rooster and inscribed on it a legend to show their contempt for the authenticity of Philip as king. They also wrote on it that when the king took the hill that cock would crow.

The king did not take the hill. It seems a pity he did not try to take it. He showed better judgment at Cassel than he did at Crécy. Instead of attacking, he set fire to the villages of the neighborhood. When they could stand it no longer, the Flemings came down to protect their property and were slaughtered. It was a contemptible victory.

Flushed by his victory in Flanders, Philip now summoned Edward to come from England and do homage for his duchy of Guyenne in France. For Edward to do this would constitute his acceptance of Philip's right to be king of France. Edward, in deep trouble with Scotland, which was receiving help from France, knew that the time was not ripe for making the victor of Cassel his overt enemy. So he went to Amiens and did his homage, but he did it in a way that proved his heart was not in it.

He then went home and proceeded to strengthen and modernize his army and his navy. Artillery was making its debut and Edward adopted it. The French nobility, however, true to feudal traditions, scorned new-fangled ideas. Wrong writes in this connection, « On English village greens incessant practice developed among the peasants amazing skill and strength with the long-bow, while in France, where the notions of feudal chivalry still reigned, the mounted knight in armor was thought to be unconquerable by those who fought on foot. The French nobility, proud of feudal

independence, learned little discipline; they were fiery and intractable, and it was an unorganized horde rather than an army that their king gathered under his banner. »

Philip had Scotch, Spanish, and Genoese soldiers in his pay, able as individuals but not amenable to discipline. Still, no anxiety was felt in France as to England. France was much more populous and powerful; her knights more brilliant and more numerous. They had no doubt of their ability to repel any invader. In England there was a very different feeling. It was more than two hundred and fifty years since Hastings, but the memory of the Conquest still rankled. The long-bowmen of England felt themselves more than a match for the French knights; they were eager to show their skill on foreign soil. Edward had a regular army, a well-organized navy, and the financial support of prosperous business men. War was inevitable, but it was slow in coming. Edward wanted to be sure of his ground. Meanwhile Philip was helping the Scots against England, and Edward was looking for a chance to help anybody against France.

At this juncture Robert of Artois, a prince of France and brother-in-law of the king, appeared at the court of Edward and was warmly welcomed. This traitor to his country did much to egg Edward on to an invasion of France. Duruy writes of him, « This prince of the lilies had claims to the county of Artois. To make good his claim he forged documents and bribed false witnesses. A decree of the court condemned him to the loss of his property and perpetual banishment. In Flanders he paid a sorcerer to practice black arts against the king's son. This was discovered. Alarmed at the prospect of a prosecution for sorcery, he fled to England, where he devoted himself to urging Edward III into war. »

In 1336 the Flemings again expelled the agents of Count Louis of Nevers, and turned to England for support against France. You will recall that they were dependent upon England for wool for their weaving. Philip threatened to cut off this supply. The Flemish leader, Artevelde, advised Edward to support Flanders, not as king of England, but as rightful king of France so as to give the rebellion of the Flemings an appearance of legality. This Edward did. But no decisive blow was struck by either side until 1340. Then the English destroyed the French fleet in the Flemish harbor of Sluys with great loss of men, but they were checked on land.

In the following year the scene of the conflict shifted to Brittany, where the death of the duke left a brother and a son-in-law to dispute the succession. Philip supported the son-in-law, Charles of Blois, whereupon the brother of the dead duke, John of Montfort, paid homage to Edward and secured his support. Charles, supported by royal troops, captured Nantes and Rennes and took John of Montfort prisoner. But John had a remarkable wife, Jeanne, who encouraged her followers to resist at the siege of Hennebont until the English came to their aid. Robert of Artois was killed about this time in a skirmish. Edward himself came to Brittany where he was confronted by forces under King Philip's son John, Duke of Normandy. In midwinter, winter in Brittany being extremely disagreeable, when the armies were sick of fighting, emissaries of the pope intervened and were welcomed by both sides. A truce was signed which was to run for four years. Since the wife of Charles of Blois was also named Jeanne, this war in Brittany, which was to begin again, has been called the war of the two Jeannes.

Before the truce had run its course, Philip treacherously invited to his court Olivier de Clisson and four-

teen other Breton knights who had sworn fealty to Edward. They rode gaily to Paris, expecting to be the king's guests at a tournament. Once there, however, they were promptly arrested and beheaded without trial. The head of Clisson was sent to Nantes and nailed to one of the city gates. This martyred knight was the father of that other Olivier de Clisson who became such a great figure in the reign that followed.

Edward was ready to invade France, and this cruel and treacherous act of King Philip gave him adequate excuse.

CHAPTER FORTY-FIVE

EDWARD'S RAID ACROSS NORMANDY TO THE BATTLE OF CRÉCY. THE CAPTURE OF CALAIS, BLACK DEATH, AND THE END OF PHILIP.

A traitor leads the English to Caen while Philip is looking for them in the south. Edward escapes from a trap and wins an historic victory at Crécy. Philip fights bravely, but the flower of chivalry fades. Edward captures Calais. After that, the Black Death scourges all of Europe, putting a stop to hostilities. Philip replaces his son as bridegroom, and then dies.

It was by way of Normandy that Edward invaded France. There was some poetic justice about that. The Normans, however, had little desire to become subjects of England again; on the contrary, they had ambitions to become masters of England again. They had already proposed to Philip to make with his consent a new invasion of that country. The plans for this invasion had been prepared in detail at Rouen in 1339; they even specified precisely how England was to be divided up among her new conquerors. Philip agreed to these plans which awarded the lion's share of the spoils to the Normans. They were deposited at Caen. Most of the French ships destroyed by the English at Sluys in 1340 were ships built in Norman ports for the invasion that never took place.

Normandy had enjoyed peace since the time of Philip Augustus and had become very prosperous, as prosperity went in those days. The title duke of Normandy had not been revived since the English were

driven out, but Philip, as a compliment to the Normans, conferred that title upon his son John, who later became King John the Good.

In the summer of 1346 the English army embarked for France. Bordeaux was the intended destination, but the winds were contrary, and another French traitor who was with them urged a landing at Barfleur which is near Cherbourg. This traitor was Geoffrey d'Harcourt, a Norman noble of the Cotentin; the landing he proposed enabled him to guide the English through a region with which he was already familiar since he was born in it. He had certain private scores to settle there.

Geoffrey was one of the deputation of Normans who, seven years before, submitted to Philip at his new castle of Vincennes the plan to invade England. Later, against the formal order of the king, he made a private war upon another lord in the Cotentin. His properties were confiscated and he fled to England where he was received with open arms by Edward.

With d'Harcourt as guide, the English proceeded to devastate the rich Norman countryside. Valognes, Carentan, and Saint-Lô were burned. In mid-July the army arrived at Caen, a rich and populous city, the ancient capital of Normandy. It was larger than any city of England save London alone. Edward was much impressed and delighted with the evidences of wealth he saw on every hand. He made fair offers for the submission of Caen, but her citizens would not submit. The unwalled city was captured and put to pillage. In the archives, thanks probably to d'Harcourt, the plan for the invasion and spoliation of England was discovered. Then the wrath of the English knew no bounds. Massacre and pillage began anew. An immense store of booty was sent to England, and with it went the Norman plan of invasion with instructions that it be

read in every parish church in order to stir up hatred of France. The art of propaganda is not new.

From Caen Edward proceeded to the Seine, hoping to cross it as soon as possible and to go on toward his Flemish allies. He felt need of reinforcements. He found that the bridges had been destroyed to impede his march. He had to go from Elbeuf to Poissy without being able to cross. Poissy is near Paris and only four miles from Saint-Germain from whose heights above the river Edward could look across the valley to where the Tour Eiffel now rises against the sky. But he knew he was not strong enough to attack Paris. He repaired the broken bridge at Poissy, crossed the Seine, and hurried northward. The bridge by which he crossed still stands; its piers were built in the time of Saint Louis who was born at Poissy.

Philip had led his army to the south, expecting the attack to come by way of Guyenne; that explains why Edward was unimpeded in his raid south of the Seine. When news came of the landing in the Cotentin, Philip made haste to the north and deployed his army between Pontoise and Rouen. His chance came to attack the English forces in retreat, but he hesitated. He hoped to corner the enemy between the sea and the mouth of the Somme and have him at his mercy. All the fords of the Somme were believed to be well guarded, and the plan seemed assured of success. But a ford near Abbeville, along the line of an old Roman road, was either forgotten or not well guarded. There, at low tide, Edward's army passed over and escaped from the trap.

Once across the Somme, the English hastily entrenched on a hill at the village of Crécy. French forces that greatly outnumbered them were not far away. Philip, when he learned that Edward had crossed, became reckless in his fury. Throwing prudence to the winds, he rushed his forces out of Abbeville to attack

at Crécy, fifteen miles away. That was a difficult march through heavy rain and over marshy ground. The day was the twenty-sixth of August, 1346. When the French finally drew near to the English position it was already late in the afternoon; the foot-soldiers were wet and weary and so were the horses. It would have been prudent to postpone the assault until the next day, or not to attack at all, as at Cassel. Philip's original plan was to wait, but the sight of the English and the foolish bravado of his nobles made him rashly give the order to advance.

Genoese cross-bowmen formed the advance guard. The heavy rain had softened their bow-strings. They could make but feeble response to the sheltered English archers who were able to keep their bow-strings dry in their bow-cases. Under a deadly shower of English arrows, they turned in confusion to flee. Philip cried out to his knights to « ride through that rabble ». So then the Genoese fought the French who charged upon them. The galloping horses of the knights fell into pits dug by the English who rushed out and cut the throats of helpless fallen riders. The primitive cannon that Edward had added to the confusion. They did little direct harm, but made a great deal of noise and smoke which added to the terror. The English also threw fire balls to terrify the horses. That day the flower of knighthood faded. New weapons proved that the armored knight on horseback was antiquated.

The French cavalry did reach the English lines, and broke through at least at one point. There the young Prince of Wales, later famous as the Black Prince, was in command. He was in such danger that his father, who was watching the battle from a windmill at the top of the hill, was urged to send help. But Edward preferred to let his sixteen-year-old son take care of himself. « Let him win his spurs », he said.

Philip fought bravely. His horse was killed under

him and he was dragged almost by force from the field after all hope of victory had fled. Many knights deliberately charged to their death rather than suffer the ignominy of retreat. The blind old king of Bohemia, an ally of France, asked to be guided by two of his knights into the thick of the fight, that he might « strike one good blow ». With their horses tied together, the blind king and his guides made an heroic, futile

Philip, after the batttle of Crécy, sought refuge at a distant castle.

charge. All three were killed. Their bodies were found in a heap, the horses still tied together.

When night came, fifteen thousand of the flower of French chivalry lay dead. The next morning two corps of militia from Rouen came marching up. Ignorant of what had happened, they fell into the hands of the English and were cut to pieces. This catastrophe more than doubled the losses of the day before.

The unexpected victory at Crécy did not tempt Edward to continue his invasion. On the contrary, he continued to withdraw. He was too good a general to risk

further penetration into country where he could be cut off from supplies and surrounded. He withdrew toward the coast at Calais, and laid siege to that city.

Calais was strongly defended and made valiant resistance. The city was finally starved into surrender only after all its dogs, cats and horses had been eaten. Philip came up with an army, but by that time the English lines around the city were too strong to be taken. The people of Calais caught a glimpse of the pennons on the lances of their king's army, but that was the nearest they came to succor. Edward required, as a condition of the terms of surrender, that six citizens come out to him dressed only in their shirts and with halters around their necks, bringing the keys of the town and the castle. This group is portrayed in a famous statue by Rodin. Eustace of Saint-Peter, the richest of the burghers, was the first who volunteered to go. Edward, who remembered with bitterness the losses he had had on account of Calais, received the hostages coldy and ordered that they be beheaded. His barons and knights begged him to withdraw this order, but in vain. It was only when the queen, who had come over from England, fell on her knees and begged for the lives of the burghers that Edward relented. He said to her, « Lady, I would rather you had been otherwhere; you pray so tenderly that I dare not refuse you, and, though I do it against my will, nevertheless take them; I give them to you. » The king then ordered all the French inhabitants to leave Calais which he repopulated with English. For more than two hundred years thereafter Calais remained England's « head of a bridge » to France.

Then the pope again offered his mediation and again a truce was signed. But it was a truce for ten months only, and the king of England was to retain all that he had won.

As though war-weary France had not already suffered enough, an epidemic now appeared. It was what they called Black Death; it was bubonic plague. This contagion, coming from Asia by way of Egypt and Italy, soon made such terrible progress that nothing else was thought of. It extended to England. In France half the population perished. There were a hundred thousand victims in Rouen alone in six months. In Paris five hundred were buried every day. The Jews were accused of having poisoned the wells and many of them were put to death. It is believed that the whole population of Europe was reduced by at least one-third on account of this historic plague.

Two other features of Philip's disastrous reign remain to be mentioned. In 1343 he established a royal monopoly on salt. Thereafter it could be purchased only at the *gabelles*, which were government offices established for that purpose. The price was whatever the king wished to make it. This new tax was particularly unpopular and continued to cause discontent right up to the Revolution. It should be noted that in 1338 the States-General voted that, « Hereafter the king shall levy no extraordinary taxes without the assent of the Three Estates, and they shall take solemn oath to this effect. » The communes two centuries earlier made brave resistance to the injustices of feudal lords; then the king had aided the communes against the nobles. Now it was the other way around; popular resistance against injustices of the king began to be felt, and the nobles aided him against the commoners.

In the year before his death, Philip purchased from the count of Vienne that region east of the Rhône later called the Dauphiny, of which Grenoble became the capital. This new province, which gave France a frontier in the Alps and protected Lyon, became the traditional heritage of the king's eldest son. For the reason

that a dolphin appeared in the coat-of-arms of the count of Vienne, the eldest prince was thereafter called the dauphin. Montpellier was also purchased by Philip, who died in 1350 just after the great epidemic came to an end.

One of the last things Philip did before he died was to marry the bride he had selected for his son. She was Blanche of Navarre, a sister of Charles the Bad. When she came to Paris, she expected to marry Prince John, but the king, charmed by her beauty, married her himself. He made his son marry another older lady who was not at all beautiful. It may have been because the prince dutifully agreed to this arrangement that they called him John the Good.

CHAPTER FORTY-SIX.

JOHN THE GOOD, CHARLES THE BAD, THE BLACK PRINCE AND THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

The new king of France proves to be no improvement upon his predecessor. Charles the Bad might have been. Treachery abounds. Bertrand Duguesclin, the ugly knight who is to save France, appears in Brittany. The Combat of the Thirty. An interrupted banquet at Rouen. The Black Prince wins the famous victory of Poitiers. King John is taken prisoner there.

The defeat at Crécy had what one French historian calls « detestable effects ». It was the first defeat of the French royalty important enough to threaten its very existence. The royal house had lost on the field of battle many of its most faithful supporters. The right of a Valois king to reign had been successfully challenged. A spirit of mistrust was abroad. Treason lifted its ugly head. Many lords, wishing to cast their lot with the winning side, were tempted to do homage to Edward of England. The new king, John the Good, did not know on whom he could count. In an effort to attach the nobility to him through a sense of honor, he created the order of the Star in imitation of the order of the Garter founded by Edward. He showered favors and money on many knights to such extent that he found himself in great financial embarrassment. Like Philip the Fair, he debased the coinage and increased the taxes, which did not add to his popularity.

But John's principal embarrassment was to come from the activities of a certain prince who became

his son-in-law three years after the new reign began. This prince was Charles the Bad who had inherited the kingdom of Navarre, the county of Evreux, certain lands in Normandy, and certain cities in the Ile-de-France. Mantes and Meulan, that lie between Paris and Rouen, were his. More than all that, Charles had a claim to the throne of France that was at least much better founded than that of England. When Philip of Valois was crowned, Charles, the grandson of Louis X, was not yet born. That was his misfortune, and perhaps the misfortune of France. Had he been in existence at the time of the death of his grandfather who was the last son of Philip the Fair, it is probable that the line of the direct Capetians would have been sustained, and the Valois not have come to reign. That might have been better for France. Certainly the first two Valois, as well as certain later ones, showed great ineptitude. They brought full measure of misery upon the country. Charles, on the other hand, had much of the ability of his forefathers. It might have been used for his country rather than against it had the ambitions of its possessor not been thwarted and what he thought his rightful claims denied.

Charles is described as, « remarkably endowed, but without scruples. He was crafty, vindictive, and dangerous. Small in stature, but endowed with swift and penetrating intelligence, he possessed eloquence and affability that distinguished him among all the princes of his time ». He might have made a useful king. Certainly his qualities outshone those of John the Good, who hoped to make him his ally when he gave him his daughter Jeanne in marriage. Of John himself it is written, « He was even more incapable than his father. Obsessed by feudal ideas, he was an accomplished man-at-arms, but was slow to understand and unable to take good advice. Like his father, he was a lover of luxury and gaiety. »

Though the truce with England continued at the beginning of the new reign, the war for the succession in Brittany did not cease. One side was supported by France, the other by England. Olivier de Clisson, whose father was beheaded by Philip, led the forces of Montfort who was supported by England. But on the side of Charles of Blois there fought an even greater knight than Clisson, one who was said to be the ugliest gentleman in all Christendom and the most formidable. He was Bertrand Duguesclin whose great deeds make one of the bright pages in the dark history of these times.

English troops were campaigning in Brittany under the leadership of the duke of Lancaster. Against them Duguesclin waged a war of « ruses and skirmishes » in which he showed great skill. Once he disguised himself and a few followers as wood-cutters. Carrying faggots, they approached a castle held by the English who lowered the drawbridge to let the needed fuel pass. No sooner was the drawbridge down than the faggots were dropped. Up rushed other soldiers of Duguesclin and the castle was won. At the siege of Rennes he captured an expected convoy, and disguised his men to form its escort. As such, they were given free and welcome entrance to the city.

There is a famous and beautiful château in Brittany called Josselin. In the time of Duguesclin there was a strong castle there. Its ramparts and towers still remain and form a striking frame around the Renaissance château. Josselin was held by French and Breton knights, and Ploermel, not far away, was held by English supporters of Montfort with Breton and paid German knights among them. Thirty knights of Josselin sent a challenge to Ploermel defying any thirty knights of the enemy to meet them in the open country and fight under the rules and etiquette of chivalry. The challenge was accepted.

One reported feature of this big match of the season was that, one side being a few men short of thirty, the other loaned a few knights in order to make the two teams equal. Anything rather than have a good fight spoiled.

At the first charge, four French and two English knights fell dead. At the second, Bramborough, the captain of the English, and eight of his companions were killed. Then Beaumanoir, captain of the French, was wounded. As he lay panting on the ground, he cried out for a drink. « Drink your blood, Beaumanoir », one of his knights replied, and the fight went on. Seven more of the English were killed before they would yield. The survivors surrendered and were taken to Josselin. Not one knight who fought that day remained unwounded.

If you ever ride over the road that leads from Ploermel to Josselin, a ride much to be desired, you will pass a granite shaft that marks the field where was fought this famous « Combat of the Thirty ».

King John, having sought at first to placate Charles the Bad, then made the mistake of arousing his enmity. Charles's mother, Jeanne of Evreux, gave to the crown in 1349 her title to the county of Angoulême with the understanding that compensation was to be made. This compensation was refused to Charles and Angoulême was awarded to one of the king's favorites. Charles retaliated by accomplishing the assassination of that favorite. John in his turn seized the Norman lands of Charles. Then Charles began negotiations with Edward. The Dauphin Charles, son of John, who, like his father, had been given the title duke of Normandy, remained on friendly terms with the other Charles. There was great dissatisfaction in Normandy at that time on account of the royal taxes. Many nobles were inclining to the side of England.

One day the dauphin gave a banquet at Rouen at which Charles the Bad and certain Norman nobles of doubtful loyalty were his guests. The king, riding hard from Orléans, came to Rouen while the festivities were in progress. Rushing into the banquet hall, he broke up the party. Despite the entreaties of his son, he had the traitorous Norman lords executed forthwith, and made Charles the Bad his prisoner. Charles was locked up in Château-Gaillard, and later in the Louvre. John did not dare have him executed. He had too strong a following.

The king's rash raid on the party at Rouen had disastrous results. Philip of Evreux, a brother of Charles, and other Norman nobles at once took the side of the English and aided them in new invasions. The duke of Lancaster led an army into Normandy and advanced as far as Verneuil. He was checked by a French army that occupied Evreux, the capital of Charles's possessions in Normandy. Meanwhile, Edward the Black Prince attacked from the south, advancing from Guyenne. He raided through Périgord, Limousin, and Berry, burned the suburbs of Bourges, was successfully resisted at the castle of Issoudun, but captured Vierzon and Romorantin.

King John assembled his troops at Loches and proceeded thence toward Poitiers which he thought the English were about to attack. That was in 1356. On the sixteenth of September the French rear-guard was defeated by the English, and the Black Prince established his camp on a height near Poitiers. His position was strengthened and protected by abundant undergrowth, hedges, and vineyards that covered the slopes of the hill. When the French came up, it was found that the English position could be approached only by a narrow, hedge-bordered road. Behind the bordering hedges many archers were stationed. At this battle fo Poitiers the English had nearly the same advantage

of position that they had at Crécy ten years before, and precisely the same advantage as to a foolhardy attack by the French. The Prince, expecting to be surrounded instead of attacked, offered to free all his prisoners, relinquish his conquest, and observe peace for seven years, but King John felt so sure of victory that he demanded an unconditional surrender.

On the nineteenth of September the battle began. A picked troop of French cavalry tried to rush up the narrow roadway, four abreast. Meanwhile the rest of the army dismounted and prepared to follow on foot. A plan of attack more favorable to the English could not have been contrived if they had planned it themselves. A hail of arrows stopped the up hill charge of the cavalry. In the confusion that followed, a counter-attack threw into disorder the divisions that were led by the dauphin and the duke of Orléans.

Sir John Chandos, one of the English captains, pointed out King John. « The golden lilies that he wore made him no more conspicuous than the terrible blows of his battle axe. » « Sire », said Chandos to his prince, « I know full well that the valor of the king will never let him flee. So let us drive at him alone. With the aid of God and Saint George he shall come into our power. » Then the English knights charged « like an iron storm » upon the division of the king, while their archers made many fall among the French before the knights came to grips. King John, unhorsed, came on on foot. In the front rank of his troops he fought like a lion. He was like his father in courage as well as in folly. He accomplished « prodigies of valor », fighting among fallen men and horses, his son Philip by his side. While the king struck mighty blows, the young prince guided his strokes, crying out, « Father, look to the right », or, « Father, turn quickly to the left. » After all the others had fallen or surrendered, the king alone would

not yield. From all sides his own knights implored him to lower his arms. His only answer was to go on fighting furiously, beating down all who sought to approach him. At last, blinded by blood from two wounds in the face, he had to surrender.

One of the great blunders the French made in this

King John fought like a lion at the battle of Poitiers, his young son Philip by his side.

battle was to dismount. The French knights outnumbered the English by two to one, but when at last the charge of the Black Prince came, it caught them off their horses and at a hopeless disadvantage.

On the evening of his victory the Black Prince gave a dinner at the castle of Savigny to the king and other notable prisoners. At this dinner those who had fought so ferociously against each other a few hours before acted like the best of friends. Prince Edward

served King John with his own hands, and declined to sit beside him, saying that he did not deserve so great an honor. He proposed a toast to his royal prisoner-guest as « the bravest knight of all his kingdom », a toast that was loudly cheered by the English as well as the French. The battle of Poitiers was apparently a gentlemen's game rather than a battle between two nations at war. The common people were not in it yet. Good feudal traditions were still being upheld.

The English took King John to Bordeaux as a hero. There he passed a pleasant winter. In the spring, « he entered London in great pomp and lived there in a joyous captivity ». He seems to have found his prison in England more agreeable than his throne in France.

CHAPTER FORTY-SEVEN

THE DAUPHIN CHARLES. ETIENNE MARCEL. THE JACQUERIE. THE TREATY OF BRETIGNY AND THE UNREGRETTED END OF JOHN CALLED THE GOOD.

A great curse now seemed to hang over the land. The blackest bit in all French history. Civil war, foreign war, the Great Companies and the Jacquerie were like the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. Stephen Marcel comes to the front in Paris. He leads in good reforms at a bad time. The dauphin leaves, Marcel is killed, the dauphin returns, and Edward attacks again. The French decline to fight, but the Beauce beats Edward. King John comes home, returns to England, dies there.

From the battle of Poitiers until the death of John the Good, from 1356 until 1364, France knew eight of her darkest years. The dauphin, the nobles, the burghers, the peasants, and the bands of free soldiers that overran the country fought each other, and the English fought them all. Of that tragic time Petrarch wrote, « I could not believe that this was the same France that was so beautiful, so flourishing only a few years before. On every hand I witnessed a terrible solitude. Fields were abandoned and buildings were in ruins. Even very near to Paris there were the same signs of fire and desolation. The streets were deserted and grass grew in the high roads. It was as though France had died. » In this same sad period, however, France made her first great and sacrificial effort to win a good and representative government. Out of her very misery progress toward freedom and justice was made.

Charles the Dauphin, Duke of Normandy, was later called Charles the Wise. He proved his wisdom at the battle of Poitiers by keeping out of it. He and his followers withdrew without striking a blow. Ten days later he appeared in Paris and was declared regent. He was a regent, however, for whose authority there was scant respect.

The dauphin assembled the States-General. The deputies demanded, among other things, the release of Charles the Bad. Imprisonment apparently did not sap the high spirits of the bad Charles. Directly after his release, he made a speech to the citizens at the Pré-aux-Clercs. He held them so spell-bound, it is reported, that they forgot their dinners. After this speech in Paris, he went to Rouen where he cut down from their gibbets the bodies of those friends of his whom John the Good hanged when he broke up his son's banquet. For two years those bodies had dangled at the ends of their ropes. Charles gave them decent burial. Then he invited the burghers to dinner. He was a real politician.

The English, having gone home with their prisoners and a great store of booty, left on the loose in France many paid soldiers who were now unpaid. These adventurers formed bands called the Great Companies They formed a serious unemployment problem. Being out of a regular paid pillaging job, they proceeded to pillage on their own account. One of these bands, led by Robert Knollys, pillaged in Normandy; another, led by the noble « archpriest » de Cervolles, ravaged Burgundy and Provence. Other bands pillaged elsewhere. They respected each others' pillaging privileges. No help was to be expected from the royal government. Local resistance began to be organized as in the days of the Norman raids. The country was on the verge of anarchy.

When the news of the battle of Poitiers reached

Paris, the people, having given up hope of any other help, prepared to defend themselves. It was then that Stephen (*Etienne*) Marcel, provost of the merchants, came to the front. Under his energetic leadership the walls were repaired, the militia organized, and supplies

In the presence of the dauphin two of the principal nobles were struck down. Stephen Marcel put his own cap on the young prince's head.

of provisions arranged for. Paris, at least, was not going to give in to the invaders without making a good fight.

The spirit of Stephen gave courage to the dauphin and the nobles. But the burghers, having taken the lead, did not propose to yield it. They had lost confidence in any royal government. The States-General, in which the commoners and the clergy took the upper hand, demanded that the dauphin dismiss many of his

noble advisers, that the deputies assemble twice a year without royal summons, and that they nominate twelve commissioners from each of the three orders to act as a permanent council for the crown. The situation was such that the crown had to yield. The Great Ordinance of 1357 conceded all the popular demands. Representatives elected by the States-General were to have supervision over the royal officials in all parts of the kingdom. Revenues and their expenditure were to be controlled entirely by the States, and coinage was to be standardized. Nobles were forbidden to fight among themselves or to leave the country. Every man in France was to be armed. To prevent delays in justice, judges were ordered, « to begin court every day at dawn, to hasten the conclusion of suits, and to cut down expenses ». An excellent list of reforms, for some of which there is still need. Unfortunately, the country as a whole did not understand the value of these reforms and so did not support them. They were the work of a few deputies who had the misfortune to be ahead of their times.

Early in 1358 the dauphin violated his promises by authorizing a debasement of the coinage. Marcel assembled his followers and they went at once to the palace. In his presence, without delays of discussion or trial, right there in the dauphin's private room, two of his principal noble advisers were killed. They fell at their prince's feet and he was spattered by their blood. Stephen, like a protecting father, assured the terrified and cowering Charles that his own life was in no danger. Taking off his cap, red and blue with the colors of Paris, he placed it on the dauphin's head, and wore the dauphin's cap himself that day. Then he harangued the people from the Hôtel de Ville and stilled the rising tumult.

Soon Marcel's supporters began to weaken His audacity was too much for them. Rural deputies began to

slip away and go to their homes ; only Paris could be counted on to support the new measures. The dauphin became aware of this and, when he had a chance, he too slipped away. He raised troops and planned to attack his own capital.

Meanwhile misery in the open country was com-

The poor people of the countryside took refuge in the forests.

plete. Towns and villages were raided alternately by French and English troops, while the men of Charles the Bad, riding out from Meulan and from Mantes, made the Ile-de-France their special prey. Nobles who had been made prisoners at Poitiers sought to redeem themselves by extorting the price of ransoms from the peasants. « The peasants, indifferent in the past to wars of nobles and affairs of state, began to realize that battles were fought and lost at their expense. » Worst

of all were the numerous bands of disbanded soldiery who had learned to live on pillage and so continued. They made an organized business of it.

Villages and unwalled towns became deserted. People fled to the depths of the woods, or lived in caves like their prehistoric ancestors. Such fields as were worked were worked only with sentinels posted. At night, workers slept on rafts concealed in swamps and the live stock was hidden in burrows.

Finally the long-suffering peasants revolted. With knives and pitchforks, with scythes and iron-bound clubs, they attacked in desperation all who came to despoil them. *Jacques Bonhomme* rose at last against the man in mail who for so long had ground him down. He did not stop to ask who might be French, or who English. The men of Charles the Bad or those of the dauphin were all the same to him. He lost all sense of loyalty save to his own great need. Driven to despair, he fought like a cornered beast.

The great outbreak began at Beauvais. In Picardy and in Champagne, in the Brie[1] and in the Beauce, a hundred thousand peasants, maddened into wild men, marched to avenge their wrongs. Nobles were hunted down, massacred, burned in their castles. Prisoners were tortured, women and children were not spared, only blood and ashes remained where the storm passed. A lord was burned alive and his wife and daughter forced to eat his roasted flesh. All the lusts of savagery were unloosed. The beast that is in all men, unleashed by the torments that had destroyed his better self, was abroad to kill and to avenge by worse than death. Such was the *Jacquerie*.

Stephen Marcel found himself in a precarious position in Paris. Even his firmest allies were falling

1. The Brie is a natural region, like the Vexin and the Beauce. It includes Meaux, Coulommiers and Château-Thierry and produces the excellent cheese that bears its name.

away. Unless he found new ones, his cause must surely fail. In desperation, he sought even the cooperation of the revolted peasants. When they besieged Meaux, he sent militia to aid them. But at Meaux the tide turned. There all the nobles of that region

The *Jacquerie*. The desperate peasants killed and tortured the lords and their ladies.

took refuge behind strong walls, and the peasants were incapable of a successful siege. The nobles, desperate in their turn, made common cause against the *Jacques*. Charles the Bad came to aid in their extermination. Hunted down like wild beasts, thousands of them were destroyed. He who was called their king was crowned with a red hot iron tripod and then beheaded. The *Jacquerie* was drowned in blood.

Then Charles the Bad found himself in a situation much to his liking. Both Stephen Marcel and the dauphin sought him as ally. He pretended to be the friend of both. Marcel and his friends had freed Charles from prison, but that proved nothing. He was a dangerous ally because Marcel's own followers did not trust him. The provost negotiated in secret. The burghers remembered the part Charles had played in the massacre of the peasants with whom they had all but made common cause; they declined to become partisans of that destroyer. In Marcel's own group there were those who were ready to submit to the dauphin.

On the last night of July in 1358, Marcel went secretly at midnight to open one of the gates of Paris to Charles and his men. There he was caught with the keys in his hand by John Maillart, one of his oldest friends and supporters. John was of those ready to support the dauphin. Some of the dauphin's followers were with him. He had become suspicious of Marcel, and followed him.

« Stephen », he cried out, « what are you doing here at this hour?

Marcel answered, « John, I am here to take care of the city of which I have charge. »

« By God », replied John, « you are here for no good. You bring the keys of the gate to betray the city. »

« You lie », cried Stephen.

« It is you who lie », cried John, and felled his old friend Stephen with an axe.

The death of Stephen opened the gates of Paris to the dauphin instead of to Charles the Bad. Two days later he entered on the arm of Stephen's slayer, and was sullenly received. But Paris, sick of revolt, became docile again. Even Charles the Bad simulated friendship, declaring that he wished only to be a loyal Frenchman.

Poor Stephen Marcel had struggled almost in vain. All that he accomplished seemed to perish with him. But his was a gallant failure. His reforms, launched in the midst of civil as well as foreign war, were doomed to fail in any case because the people could not understand them. However, the Dauphin Charles was one who understood. He did no more debasing of the coinage, and wisely ruled in a way to avoid a new revolt. A great statue of Marcel stands beside the Hôtel de Ville in Paris and does honor to him as the first leader of the city chosen by the people.

While these tragedies were occurring in France, King John was becoming a little bored by his luxurious captivity at Windsor, despite the fact that special fêtes and tournaments were held for him, the bills therefor being duly forwarded to France. John signed a treaty by which he agreed to cede to England half of France if England would let him retain and reign over the other half. This treaty was sent to Paris and the dauphin courageously refused to indorse it. The reply to London stated that the king « would have to remain in England until God, when He saw fit, should provide a remedy ».

Then Edward attacked again. He landed at Calais at the end of October in 1359 with an admirably equipped army. He marched on Reims which he planned to capture so that he might be crowned there king of France. The official coronation city successfully resisted a seven weeks' siege. Then Edward, hoping for another Crécy or Poitiers in the open country, moved indirectly on Paris, passing by Châlons, Bar-le-Duc, Troyes, and Tonnerre. The duke of Burgundy paid a good round sum to have his lands spared from pillage, but that was about all the success Edward had in this campaign. The French, at a great price, had learned a lesson. They would ue longer come ont

from behind their walls to fight, and Edward found small cheer in the denuded and desolate countryside. He approached Paris and camped at Bourg-la-Reine near its southern gates. One of his knights advanced and hurled a lance against the walls, but the taunt had no effect. Charles had given strict orders that no one go forth to fight.

Edward had to leave Paris and turn disconsolately toward the south. His army had to plod across the plains of the Beauce « in execrable weather ». That crossing of the Beauce was as bad as losing a battle. The armies of France had failed to beat him, but the wintry Beauce made this proud king bow down, which does not surprise us. When Edward finally reached Chartres, a great hail storm broke, the final benediction of the Beauce. He went straight to the cathedral, and there, on bended knees, he made a vow to end the war.

Negotiations took place at Brétigny, a village near Chartres. In the treaty of Brétigny (1360) Edward gave up all pretensions to the crown of France and to the duchy of Normandy. On the other hand, he and his successors were released from homage for their possessions in Aquitaine, and the ransom of King John was fixed at a sum in inverse proportion to his true worth.

In October of 1360 King John came home. There was no rejoicing. There was a new outbreak of Black Death at that time and the Great Companies were still ravaging the land, but the king did not bother about the brigands or the Black Death. He proceeded first to take possession of Burgundy, that duchy having reverted to the crown. There he installed as duke his son Philip who had fought by his side at Poitiers. Philip may have deserved a handsome present, but the gift to him of Burgundy was as bad for France as the defeat at Poitiers. In the following century his succes-

sors took sides against the mother country, and nearly accomplished her ruin.

From Burgundy John went on to Avignon to visit the pope. There he spent six months in gaiety and planned to marry the queen of Naples. The pope, who had been held twice for ransom by the Great Companies, proposed to the king that he go on a Crusade and take the Great Companies with him. John almost took the bait. He was considering with favor this sagacious proposal when word came that one of his sons, who was held in England as guarantee for a payment due on the ransom, had broken his parole. This so touched John's delicate sense of honor that he at once returned to voluntary captivity at Windsor, thus escaping both the Seljuk Turks and the pain of witnessing the misery of France. Again he was royally received in England, but, fortunately for France, this time the fêtes proved fatal. At the age of forty-four John died, and England, not France, mourned for him.

CHAPTER FORTY-EIGHT

THE ALL-TOO-BRIEF REIGN OF CHARLES THE WISE IN WHICH BERTRAND DUGUESCLIN PLAYED A GREAT PART. 1364-1380.

The tide turns at last against the English. Bertrand beats de Buch, but is made prisoner at Auray. Released, he leads the Great Companies into Castille where he is made prisoner again. Ransomed again, he harries the English out of France. The Black Prince goes home to die. Bertrand and Charles the Wise are buried together at Saint-Denis.

Charles was twenty-seven when he became king. His tragic years as dauphin had left him with no illusions. The school of bitter experience had taught him not to imitate the follies of his father. In thirty years the first two Valois had all but accomplished the ruin of the kingdom. Charles the Bad, the English, and the Great Companies now seemed to be its real masters. The weak and sickly young king in the cold castle at Vincennes appeared to have small chance against his robust enemies. But Charles proved that, for a king, a good brain is more important than a strong body, and a wise plan better than a grand parade. Edward of England said of him, « There has never been a king of France who has armed himself less, and never one who has given me more trouble. » Charles sat in his palace and planned. He let others do the fighting.

Bertrand Duguesclin, whose name is inseparable from that of Charles, was a poor knight of Brittany. He possessed a rare combination of strength, sagacity, and ugliness. Already he had proved his abilities

against the English. Now he became the king's right hand man.

Charles the Bad could not bear to witness without a struggle the placing on the head of another the crown he thought he should wear himself. Though circumstances compelled him to remain in his kingdom of Navarre at that time, he sent to interfere a small army commanded by his best captain. This celebrated Captal de Buch landed at Cherbourg and led his forces to Evreux. He had sworn to be in Reims before the coronation and to break up the ceremonies. Duguesclin, leading forces from Rouen, crossed the Seine at Pont-de-l'Arche and mounted the valley of the Eure. At Cocherel, a village in that valley, the two forces met.

The men of Duguesclin had had only bread to eat for two days. De Buch tempted them to attack by displaying « a table covered with hams and wine ». When this strategem did not succeed, he took up his position on a wooded hêight, following the example of the English at Crécy and Poitiers. Duguesclin and his men, returning from lunch, apparently followed the French example in that they made an uphill attack that failed. Retreat was sounded and the attackers fled in apparent disorder. The English auxiliaries with de Buch could not be restrained from leaving the hill to attack the retreating French. Hastings repeated itself on a smaller scale. Duguesclin had stationed a picked force in ambush to await this opportunity. De Buch and his men followed the English. They were suddenly attacked from the rear. Those who could not escape through the woods were killed or captured. De Buch was one of the prisoners.

This little battle had great results. Duguesclin brought the news of his victory to Charles at Reims on the day he was crowned, offering it as a coronation present. Before he fought at Cocherel, Duguesclin had captured

by surprise both Mantes and Meulan. Now Charles the Bad was compelled to cede those cities and take Montpellier in exchange. The king was not rid of this trouble-maker, but at least he was now put much further away from Paris.

In Brittany the twenty-four year war over the succession still went on. The treaty of Brétigny expressly provided that fighting between French and English might continue in Brittany, though elsewhere they were supposed to be at peace. Duguesclin went there again to aid the king's candidate, Charles of Blois, and the Black Prince sent forces to aid Montfort. Against Duguesclin's advice an important battle was fought at Auray (September, 1364) in which Charles of Blois was killed and Bertrand taken prisoner. However, the battle of Auray brought peace at last to Brittany. Montfort now became duke, but he recognized the suzerainty of the king of France. The king paid heavily for the release of Duguesclin.

A still greater problem remained for Charles and Bertrand to solve; that was what to do about the Great Companies. After Edward of England stopped fighting in France, many of his men seemed not to understand that the war was over. The gentlemen of the Companies became more numerous than ever. They were joined by soldiers of fortune of many nationalities who had been in the pay of Edward or of Charles the Bad. The Companies were undisputed masters of the countryside. They showed a discriminating preference for the regions that produced the best wines. They held more than a hundred fortresses in Burgundy and Champagne and led lives that were neither sober nor serious.

Fortunately Duguesclin was on good terms with these gentlemen. He had fought both with and against

them. They esteemed his prowess and were proud to claim him as a comrade-in-arms. One day he attended a reunion they were holding somewhere in Champagne. After the banquet, at which he was an honored guest, he proposed an interesting plan. It happened that trouble was brewing at that time in Castille on the other side of the Pyrenees. Peter the Cruel reigned there, but his brother, Henry of Transtamare, had asked the

"The gentlemen of the Great Companies led lives that were neither sober nor serious." Here they are roasting the feet of one victim while shutting another one up in a chest with a cat.

aid of France to throw cruel Peter out. Bertrand proposed that the Companies join him in this job. In his after-dinner speech he pointed out that Castille was a particularly rich and agreeable country. Its wines compared favorably with those of France, and its women were said to be beautiful. Also, it would be convenient to pass by way of Avignon. A wealthy gentleman who lived there might be persuaded to give them his blessing, and even to contribute something toward the campaign. Had not the pope excommunicated Peter the Cruel? It would be a sort of crusade.

Bertrand's speech pleased everybody except the pope, and he was not present; when he heard of the plan

later, doubtless he wished he had been consulted first. The gentlemen-adventurers applauded loudly, crying out, « When do we start? » It was in the spring in 1365 that they rode down the Rhône valley. The almond trees were all in flower at Avignon when they called on the pope. They asked for his blessing and for absolution of their sins. They also asked for two hundred thousand pounds, a request that His Holiness was in no position to refuse. The walls of Avignon were more ornamental than useful; they had been built that way on purpose.

Once in Castille, the people there joined in turning out the tyrant Peter. He fled to Guyenne and asked for help from the Black Prince, who was duke of Aquitaine. The Black Prince was delighted to go to fight French forces in Spain. When the English attacked, Duguesclin was badly supported by the Castilians, and his gentlemen-adventurers were by that time adventuring elsewhere. Many of them had been hired by the Black Prince to fight for him. At the battle of Najara, Bertrand was again made prisoner. A fine, romantic account of those days and events is given in Conan Doyle's *The White Company.*

The victory of the Black Prince in Spain cost him dear. The climate and the food were bad for his troops. He himself fell ill and returned to Bordeaux. Then there was further trouble about debts to his troops and about the taxes he tried to levy in order to pay them. His Gascon subjects appealed to the king of France, and were ready to revolt against their English masters.

Meanwhile Duguesclin, weary of imprisonment, said to Edward's son one day, « It is said, Prince, that I am the foremost knight in the world since you do not dare put me to ransom. » The Prince, piqued, offered to let Bertrand name his own ransom. He named one hundred thousand pounds. « And where will you

raise it, Bertrand? » asked the prince, for the Breton knight was poor. « If the king does not pay it, » was the answer, « there is not a woman in all France who will not work to buy my freedom. »

Duguesclin was released on parole to go to seek his ransom. Riding to Paris, he was acclaimed as a hero wherever he passed. The king gladly gave him the money to pay for his freedom. Returning, he met comrades-in-arms less fortunate than he who could not pay for theirs. Cheerfully he handed out to them all the king had given to him. He finally arrived at Bordeaux with empty pockets. Then the king paid his ransom all over again.

Two years later Bertrand again crossed the Pyrenees. This time he succeeded in seating Henry of Transtamare on the throne of Castille, thereby making Castille a valuable ally for France. Henry killed his brother Peter the Cruel with his own hands.

Meanwhile the king made preparations for the struggle that was sure to be renewed with England. He showed diplomacy in smoothing out difficulties between the nobles and the commoners, and in winning the support of both for the crown. Even Charles the Bad of Navarre was won, or at least he said he was. But Castille, as neighbor of Navarre, was worth more than Charles's word in assuring his peaceful behavior. The alliance between France and Scotland, still the enemy of England, was carefully revived. A somewhat regular army was organized. Finally the time came when Charles felt strong enough to begin the great task of driving the English out. He sent to Edward a letter of defiance carried by a varlet of his kitchen.

The feeling against the English that was rife in the south gave Charles excuse for intervention. The States-General and the court of peers agreed that the duchy of Aquitaine and all other lands held by the

English in France should be confiscated. Duguesclin conducted the military operations with masterly skill. He avoided important battles, preferring to wear down the enemy by a campaign of small attacks at different points. This plan proved a great success. The harassed English could never tell where to expect the next attack. Defections from their ranks increased rapidly. Abbeville in Picardy, and Limoges, Rodez, and Cahors in the south opened their gates to the French.

The Black Prince could not come to grips with his elusive enemy, and found himself growing weaker every day. Infuriated, he determined to make an example of Limoges at least. Having blasted an opening in the ramparts, he captured the city and put it to fire and sword. But that was the last conquest of this redoubtable prince. Stricken with a mortal illness he went home to England. There he died a few years later. His father outlived him.

Edward the elder now resolved on heroic measures. He placed on the shores of France at Calais a fine army commanded by that Robert Knollys who had been an able if not very honorable commander of one of the Great Companies. This army traversed France from north to south, the French hovering on its flanks but avoiding battle. The cities remained hermetically closed. The peasants abandoned their fields and escaped with their live stock before the English could catch them.

Passing by Noyon and Reims, they came at last to Paris. Charles from a tower in his new palace of Saint-Pol saw the burning villages that marked the path of the English. The great knight Clisson said to him, « Sire, do not use your men against these madmen. Let them wear themselves out. They will not deprive you of your heritage with all this smoke. » One bold

Englishman came near enough to plant his lance in one of the city gates. The soldiers who were on guard merely cheered his courage, but a butcher ran after the lance-thrower and felled him with an axe.

The English continued their desolate march. It was like that of Edward's across the Beauce, and equally unsuccessful. The farther south they went, the weaker they became, the more Duguesclin harassed them. He defeated them at Pontvallain and again at Chizé.

"They carried the keys to the tent where Bertrand lay and placed them on his bier in token of surrender."

They were glad indeed when they came at last to safety in Bordeaux.

In 1374 an army under the duke of Lancaster made another unprofitable parade. Of the thirty thousand men with whom he landed at Calais, only six thousand were left when he reached Guyenne. Edward did not try again. He made a truce at Bruges and died soon after.

Edward died in 1377. Charles and Bertrand did not survive him long. Their deaths came in 1380. Duguesclin was still campaigning against the remnants of the English forces in the south when he was

stricken. Before he died, the commander at the castle of Randon agreed to surrender to him in case no help came. When the news of Duguesclin's death was received, the commander felt freed of his promise. So the French threatened to execute under the castle walls the hostages that had been given. Then the English lowered the drawbridge and offered the keys. The French commander would not take them, saying, « Your agreement was made with the Lord Bertrand. To him you shall surrender. » So the English commander carried the keys of the castle to the tent where Bertrand lay and placed them on his bier in token of surrender.

King Charles lived only two months after Duguesclin died. He left instructions that the ugly Breton knight who had saved the kingdom should be buried by his side in the royal crypt at Saint-Denis. There was no higher honor that the king could pay, nor did any other knight ever attain this one.

Charles the Wise was wise in other matters than politics and war. Perseverance and economy, justice and sagacity, characterized his private life as well as his public acts. He loved learning and was a patron of the arts and letters. He had a library that was magnificent for those days. In it there were nine hundred and ten volumes. He had translations made of the Bible and of Aristotle, of Livy and of Saint-Augustin. He had treatises prepared on agriculture, law, and finance.

Paris in his reign was smaller than it had been in the days of Philip the Fair. War and pestilence had reduced it to about a quarter of a million. Charles had the city walls extended to the east and began the building of the Bastille. New bridges were built over the Seine, and a new jail provided for university students. Four-wheeled carriages appeared in the streets.

Regulations to prevent fires were put in force; a bucket of water was to be kept at the street door of every house. The first sewers were built. Householders were required to keep the streets clean in front of their houses and to keep their pigs off of them.

The king built a fine new palace called Saint-Pol. It was celebrated for its many rooms, its gardens, and its menagerie. It is all gone now, but there remains the Street of the Lions of Saint-Paul which, in Charles's day, passed by his menagerie.

France, then as now, was an agricultural country. Three-fourths of her people were field workers. Old records show that the use of fertilizers was well understood, and that new plants were introduced from foreign countries. Especial progress was made in viticulture. Strange rustic superstitions prevailed. A cross over the fire-place was believed to keep the chickens from straying; bread thrown in a well kept it from drying up; a mare's skull in the garden killed caterpillars; a buried toad helped keep crows away.

Charles paved with stone certain highways in the open country and planned a canal from the Loire to the Seine, a work that remained for Henry IV to complete.

Fortunate indeed it was for France that Charles the Wise and Duguesclin came together and came when they did. The country had great need of them. They won back France for France. At their death only Bayonne, Bordeaux, Calais, Brest and Cherbourg remained in the hands of the English.

CHAPTER FORTY-NINE

CHARLES VI SUCCEEDS CHARLES V AND JOHN THE FEARLESS SUCCEEDS PHILIP THE HARDY. MURDER OF THE KING'S BROTHER.

A new king, misguided by selfish uncles, abuses his subjects and makes an unfortunate marriage. The house of Burgundy rises in power and becomes a menace. The king's minister is nearly murdered and the king goes crazy. Rebellions in France and England are repressed with violence. John of Burgundy, for an adventurous folly, becomes called the Fearless. He proves the title wrong by cowardly assassination of the king's brother, Louis of Orléans.

Charles VI succeeded his father in 1380 and reigned for forty-two years. He was unfortunate as to his youth, as to his sanity, and as to his uncles. Had it not been for these three serious handicaps, he might have made a good king. He revealed certain desirable qualities when mature and in his right mind, but unfortunately he was seldom in his right mind when mature. Of all the Valois kings, his reign was the most tragic. Yet this king was called by his subjects, « the Well-Loved ». They always thought he was more sinned against than sinning.

Charles V was forty-three when he died, and his son Charles was then twelve. Another boy king reigned at the same time in England. He was Richard II, son of the Black Prince, who became king in 1377 when eleven years old. During the minorities of these two boy kings, France and England were both too much occupied with troubles at home to make much trouble for each other; although no agreement

for peace had been made, real fighting did not begin again until 1415. This informal truce continued for thirty-five years.

The good ministers of Charles the Wise, of whom Olivier de Clisson is the best known, were summarily dismissed by the dukes of Anjou, of Berry, and of Burgundy, uncles of the young king who took charge of the government in their own interests. New exactions led to new revolts. In Paris an effort was made to collect a sales tax. A royal collector began with an old woman who was trying to sell a bunch of water-cress at the central market. This effort was not a success. The royal collector who tried to collect on the old lady's cress was killed before he could collect. The crowd at the market then rushed to the near-by city hall and armed themselves there with large leaden mallets that had been prepared for use on the English. Thus formidably equipped, the *Maillotins* (mallet-wielders) were soon masters of the city. The sales tax was prudently withdrawn by the uncles and the heavy mallets were laid aside by the Parisians. But many leaders of the mallet-wielders were secretly arrested, sewed up in sacks, and tossed into the Seine. Similar revolts broke out at the same time in Languedoc and at Rouen, Reims, Châlons, Troyes, and Orléans. The bands of *Tuchins* in Languedoc killed all they could « who did not have hard and calloused hands »; their revolt was a Jacquerie on a smaller scale.

The duke of Burgundy was Philip the Hardy, that son of King John who stood so valiantly by his father's side at the battle of Poitiers. Philip had married the daughter and heiress of the count of Flanders. Flanders was, as usual, in revolt against her count. The duke easily persuaded his nephew-king into a campaign against the Flemings who were

decisively defeated by the royal forces at Roosebeke in 1382. On the way back from this victory it was decided by the allied uncles to give the Parisians such a lesson as would insure their submission for a long time; they had not forgotten the mallet-wielders.

The Parisians, realizing that the time for reprisals had come, assembled a force of 20,000 on Montmartre to meet the returning royal army. They did not wish to give battle, but hoped a display of force might be to their interest. Emissaries of the uncles brought word that the king desired his people to disperse and return to their homes. This they did. The gates of Paris were open, but the badly-advised boy king ordered a breach made in the walls as sign of his displeasure, and entered through the breach. « Helmet on head, he passed through the streets with lance in hand and the most terrible expression his young face could assume » (Duruy).

The citizens were disarmed and hundreds were executed, among them John Desmarets, an old man who had honorably served as minister under three kings. John's only crime was that he had tried to act as peace-maker. When he was brought forth to be executed he was urged to beg forgivenesss from the king, but he would not do that. Proudly he said, « I have well and loyally served his great-grandfather King Philip, his grandfather King John, and his father King Charles; none of these kings ever had occasion to reproach me, nor would this king reproach me if he were full grown and had the wisdom of age. I have no cause to ask mercy of him. From God alone do I beg mercy, and I pray Him that He will pardon my sins. »

A heavy fine was imposed on Paris. Similar punishments and fines were inflicted upon the other rebellious cities to such extent that all leaders of the burghers are reported to have been either killed or ruined. The wave of rebellion against royal injus-

tice that spread at this time over England as well as France spent itself presently and died down. For lack of organization and common leadership the efforts to right the wrongs of government failed once more. The communes lost or yielded their hard won independence and were ruled thereafter by appointed officers of the crown.

The rise in importance at this time of the house of Burgundy was remarkable. Its development in territory, power, and ambition was a grave menace to France; it all but succeeded in supplanting the Valois kings by another dynasty. After the new Capetian house of Burgundy with Dijon as its capital was established by John the Good in favor of his son Philip, its rapid growth was chiefly due to fortunate marriages. Philip's father-in-law, the count of Flanders, died in 1384, and Philip immediately became more interested in his rich new legacy than in the comparatively poor hills of Burgundy. His son and successor, John the Fearless, married the daughter of the count of Holland and Holland also became a heritage of Burgundy. Thus her dukes became masters of a great and rich territory that extended, not far north of Paris, from the mountains to the sea. The position of this territory, even more than its wealth, made Burgundy important. Her holdings were intermediate in position between France, England and Germany and she was in close touch with all three. The duke had ports in Holland by means of which he had easy access to England, his strong fortresses in Flanders were a menace to France, and, by control of the mouth of the Rhine, he had a grip on the economic life of Germany. Small wonder is it then that dukes of Burgundy planned to renounce allegiance to a house that seemed weaker than their own, and even to overthrow that house. John the Fearless, even

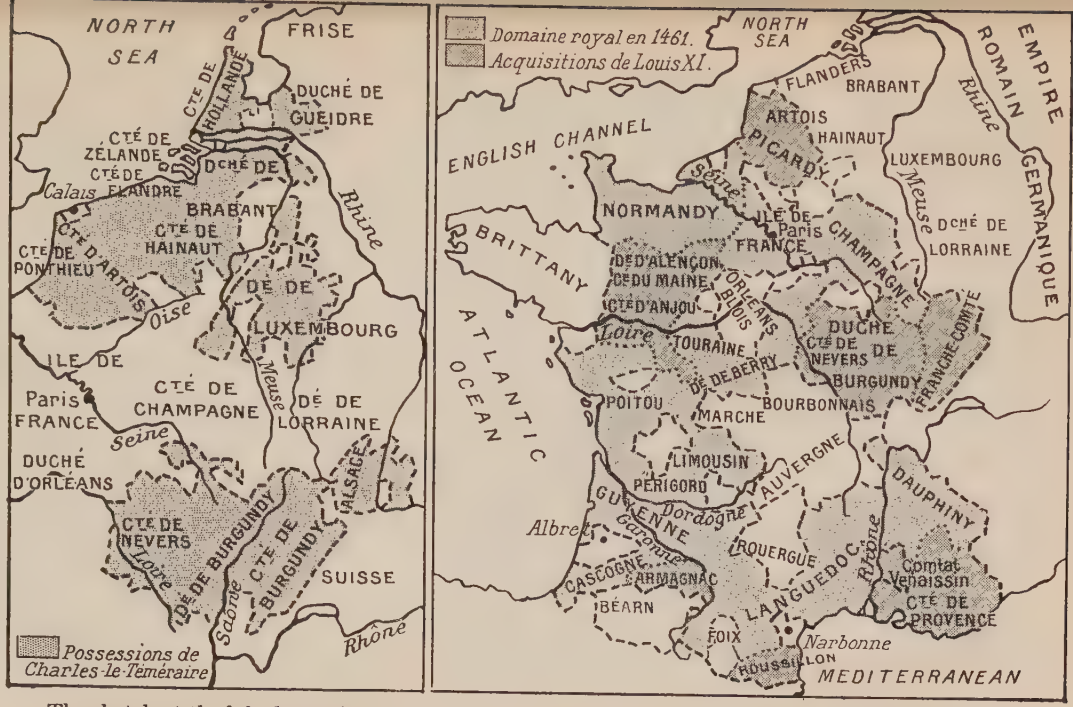
before his father's death, had such ideas. He was an unscrupulous and skilful politician whose ambitions were boundless. Hardly had he become duke before he made himself for a time master of France.

In 1385 Philip the Hardy arranged the marriage of his seventeen-year-old nephew-king with Isabeau, daughter of the duke of Bavaria. Isabeau, destined to play a sinister role during the insanity of her husband, was only fourteen at the time of her marriage. She came as child-queen to a licentious court where, it was said, « she learned its vices sooner than she learned its language ». The historic play, *Isabeau*, sometimes given at the Odéon, furnishes an admirable and impressive picture of this period.

In that same year great preparations were made for an invasion of England. Fourteen hundred boats were built, and many demountable wooden houses that were designed to quarter all the troops upon their arrival. But, due chiefly to the manipulations of the uncle-dukes, these preparations came to naught except that the uncles profited by sale of the materials that had been assembled.

In 1388 the king, being then twenty, took counsel with his brother, Louis of Orléans, and decided to free himself of the control of his uncles. He was unhappy over the great discontent their acts had aroused. So, thanking them for their services, he relieved them of official duties in the government and summoned as ministers those who had served his father. Wise concessions were then made that did much to improve the situation.

The group that thus came into power again was scornfully called by the great lords *Marmousets*, a marmouset being a little monkey. Their chief was Olivier de Clisson, a knight of Brittany whose services to the state were only less than those of Ber-



The sketch at the left shows the great development of Burgundy. The one at the right reveals the later growth of the kingdom under Louis XI.

trand Duguesclin; he was a son of that other Clisson, treacherously executed by Philip of Valois. Control of the government remained with the Marmousets through four fortunate years. In that period their chief difficulty was on account of the foolish extravagances of the young king. The duke of Berry was relieved of the governorship of Languedoc; he had systematically pillaged that unhappy province.

Clisson, despised by the great nobles, had a mortal enemy in Peter of Craon, an Angevin knight. The nobles encouraged Peter to attack Olivier. One summer night in 1392 Craon with forty men waylaid Clisson who was returning late through narrow streets from a party at the palace. Clisson, wounded and thrown from his horse, had the good fortune to fall through a door that was partly ajar. That fall stunned him, but saved his life. His assailants, thinking him dead, fled with their master, not drawing rein until they were far from Paris.

Charles received prompt news of this cowardly attack upon his favorite minister. The king was at Clisson's side almost before he had regained consciousness. Furious, he vowed to do his utmost to punish those who were guilty. Craon's guilt was discovered. By that time he had taken refuge in Brittany where he was protected by its duke. The king would brook no delay and, against his doctor's advice, started on a mid-summer expedition.

It was in August that they started. The heat was intense. The king, fatigued and half sick, was riding near the head of the column as they passed through the forest of Mans. Suddenly a man dressed all in white leaped out of a thicket and, seizing the king's bridle, cried out, « Ride no further, noble king, for you are betrayed. » The man disappeared as swiftly as he came and before anyone thought to stop him. This incident had a bad effect upon nervous young

Charles. Soon after that a sleepy page let a lance fall with a great clatter against a helmet. That instantly put an end to what little self-control Charles had. Crying out that he was betrayed, he attacked his own brother who eluded him, but he killed four other men before they could disarm him. The king had gone insane.

A famous doctor had some success in restoring Charles, but in the following January another incident

An old man all dressed in white terrified the young king in the forest of Le Mans.

put an end to all hope for his permanent recovery. At a merry-making the king and a few others were disguised as savages. The costume of the king caught fire. He was saved physically, but not mentally. From that time his case was hopeless; sometimes childish, sometimes raving, there were rare moments of lucidity when he tried pathetically to right the many wrongs committed in his name. It has been claimed that it was for the amusement of King Charles that playing cards were invented. The use of them was considered at first a sign of mental weakness.

After 1394 the king was only a tool in the hands

of the dukes of Burgundy and of Berry. The court became a scene of shameless scandals. Many of the Marmousets were imprisoned. Clisson retired into Brittany. Two factions, one led by the duke of Burgundy, the other by the king's brother, Louis of Orléans, were rivals for power. Such confusion resulted that obedience could no longer be expected from royal agents in the provinces. Brigands ravaged the country and misery abounded. Queen Isabeau was a leader in the disorder, giving an historic example of what a queen ought not to be.

However, it was in this period of disorder, in 1396, that a truce was signed with England and the little princess Isabelle at the age of eight was affianced to Richard II.

At this time also there occurred a strange adventure in which John, Count of Nevers and son of the duke of Burgundy, gained his title, John the Fearless. The Bulgarians and the Serbians had been defeated by the Ottoman Turks whose sultan, Bajazet, inflamed by these victories, swore that he would stable his horse in St-Peter's in Rome. Hungary formed the outmost bulwark of Christianity against the rising tide of Turks. Sigismond, its king, called upon all Christian knights for help and the pope decreed a crusade. Ten thousand French under the leadership of John of Nevers, then twenty-four, responded to the call. They made a joyous excursion of it down the Danube valley. Against the advice of Sigismond, the knights of France repeated before Nicopolis the blunders of Crécy and of Poitiers. They rushed impetuously to the charge, performed prodigies of valor, and were finally cut down by the Janissaries. Only thirty of the knights escaped death. The survivors were held for ransom and John, now the Fearless, purchased his liberty at great expense.

When John's father, Philip the Hardy, died in 1404 the way seemed clear for Louis of Orléans to exercise the royal power in his brother's name. He had already attained a considerable ascendancy through being on particularly good terms with his sister-in-law, Queen Isabeau; his own wife, the noble Valentine Visconti, suffered in silence. But Louis found in John a rival even more formidable than his father had been. Louis was unpopular with the commoners because he was responsible for the levying of new taxes for the alleged attack on England that did not take place. Philip the Hardy, and John after him, opposed these taxes. On that account they enjoyed popularity with the Parisians, a popularity that they were careful to foster.

John, three years after his father's death, determined to rid himself of his rival. He and Louis both had *hôtels*[1] in Paris and both fortified them against any attack by the other; both assembled their men-at-arms; a battle in the heart of the city was imminent. Their old uncle, the duke of Berry, realizing what was in the air, persuaded John to go with him to the bedside of Louis who was ill, and to go through the form of a reconciliation. The cousins partook of holy communion together and exchanged embraces, promising friendship. But three days later Louis lay dead in the narrow Old Street of the Temple, assassinated by the men of John.

This historic murder occurred on the 23d of November, 1407. Louis, early in the evening, was on his way home from the hôtel of Queen Isabeau. Suspecting no harm, he followed at a little distance behind his men, singing to himself as he played with his gloves. Suddenly a man leaped out of the shadows and struck him in the hand with a hatchet. « I am the Duke of

1. Hôtel was the name given to the town house of a noble.

Orléans », cried Louis. « We ask but that », was the reply as the first to strike was joined by others. When they had felled their victim, they literally cut him to pieces. Then John, disguised, came up to make sure

The assassination of the duke of Orléans in a street of Paris.

that his cousin was dead. Satisfied as to that, he went to his hôtel and awaited events. No one molested him then, but later his act had grave consequences. It led to his own assassination and to a new and terrible civil war that tempted the English to reopen hostilities, a temptation they did not long resist.

CHAPTER-FIFTY

ARMAGNACS vs. BURGUNDIANS. THE CABOCHINS : THEIR ORDINANCE AND THEIR MISBEHAVIOR. RENEWAL OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

John of Burgundy's audacity wins him a royal pardon. He should have been hanged, but he became master of such government as there was. Butchers and beef-skinners run Paris as allies of the Burgundians while university men prepare a remarkable document. John presently and prudently departs. England gains strength and prepares to renew the Hundred Years' War.

John was a pall-bearer at Louis's funeral and feigned great grief. He wept copiously and said, « Never was a more traitorous murder done in the realm. » But presently, fearing his sin would find him out, he fled to Flanders. There, soon afterwards, he defeated at Hasbain the revolted burghers of Liége and their followers. Twenty thousand were killed. This carnage seemed to renew John's confidence. Knowing that he was suspected on all sides, and having already admitted his crime to his uncle, the duke of Berry, he now boldly made public acknowledgment of it, and undertook to justify it.

Counting on his popularity with the Parisians, who had shed no tears over the death of Louis, John went to the capital and made a sort of triumphal entry. This self-avowed murderer remained the peoples' favorite. He demanded and secured a public audience before the king. Jean Petit, a Franciscan monk, presented John's

justification to the king and nobles at the audience, maintaining in twelve articles in honor of the twelve apostles that the act in question, the murder of the king's brother, had been for the good of the kingdom and the honor of the king. It was attempted to prove that the dead duke had plotted against the state. Such pressure was John able to bring to bear upon the poor demented king, so strong was he with the populace, that he succeeded in obtaining a royal pardon. Then, for a time, he was indeed master of France as well as of Burgundy.

However, John's triumph was short-lived. Popular though he was with the burghers, the nobles were against him; he could not both ride with the hounds and run with the hare. Bernard, the redoutable count of Armagnac, whose daughter had married Charles, a son of the dead Louis of Orléans, led the opposition. Thus we come to that bloody struggle between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs in which both invited the aid of the English against the others, and both contributed to the fact that, fourteen years later, when Charles VI was lowered into his tomb at Saint-Denis, an infant at Windsor was declared his successor to the crown of France.

The court, the nobility, and Queen Isabeau favored the Armagnacs, but the people of Paris supported the Burgundians. It was a phase of the ancient struggle between feudal aristocracy and insurgent democracy; the lords against the commoners, with the commoners having in this case a demagogue lord for leader Meanwhile the poor king in his palace of Saint-Pol did not know what it was all about. The Armagnacs wore a white scarf as sign of their allegiance; the Burgundians wore the red cross of Saint-André.

The primary object of both parties was to possess Paris and the king. Duke John had a great advantage

at the beginning of the struggle for he already possessed both Paris and the king. His opponents had to take to the country and seek there to recruit their strength. When Armagnac finally marched on the capital, he had among his recruits bands of brigands who were only too happy to turn from devastation of the south to seek new spoils in the north. Each side was seeking support wherever it might be found.

John succeeded in keeping the power in Paris for a few years, but he could not suppress the Armagnacs in the country. Their first attack ended in a truce signed at Bicêtre, a suburb of Paris, in 1410. Two years later John led a royal army to attack their stronghold at Bourges while the English, in the guise of allies of the Armagnacs, were pillaging in Normandy. Again John was successful. Many Armagnac leaders were killed, their property seized, and a treaty favorable to John was signed at Auxerre in 1412. There were no great battles in these campaigns, but the suffering of the country was none the less on that account; probably more. Disorder was nearly universal. The minor bloody encounters that characterize a civil war were countless.

John, despite his successes, could establish no order in the state. Two very different elements in Paris now became important in efforts to ameliorate the situation. These elements were the University and the butchers, a singular partnership in which, naturally, the butchers took leadership in action. John invited the butchers to help him. One of their leaders was Caboche, a skinner (*écorcheur*) by trade; on that account this group was called the Cabochins. The butchers' guild is reported to have been made up of only five hundred members, but what they lacked in numbers they made up in aggressiveness. The Cabochins, butchers and skinners, were for many months the real masters of Paris

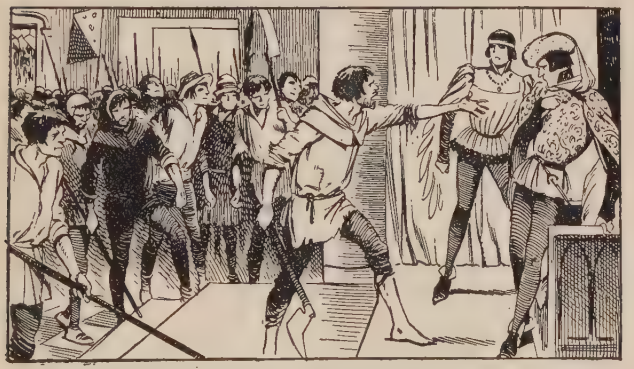
and their methods of mastery were extremely rough. That conscienceless scoundrel John began to fear the Armagnacs less than his own invited allies. The Cabochins took advantage of the situation to fulfil whatever old scores they had to settle or new desires to satisfy.

More than once the butchers came to the palace and threatened the gay favorites of the young dauphin. They told the dauphin to his face that he would have to lead a more sober life and they broke up some of his parties; they mounted guard around the palace and freely entered it to suppress such goings-on as they did not approve. They undertook to protect the prince, but they did not hesitate to dispose summarily of those who they thought were misleading him. They arrested some of his playmates, and, on the way to jail, dropped a few of them into the Seine. Once they compelled the king and the duke of Burgundy to put on the white cap that they had adopted as sign of revolt against the nobility. The court of France became a plaything of the butchers, and beef-skinners told the heir to the throne how to behave.

The role in political affairs played at this time by the University was no less remarkable, though in a different way. The University had gained important prestige through having had a leading part in deposing two rival popes and in securing election to the Holy See of Alexander V, one of its own doctors. The States-General assembled at the end of January in 1413. Under the conditions, the clergy and the Third Estate had a preponderant influence in this assembly. A commission of twelve was appointed to prepare a plan of reforms, an influential member of that commission being Pierre Cauchon, Rector of the University. A remarkable report was prepared; it was the combined work of the University and the wisest of the burghers,

but it was known as the Cabochin Ordinance. The violent elements had compelled the reform movement, but the moderates wrote the admirable measures that expressed its hopes, measures that, though officially approved, unfortunately never became of real effect.

The Cabochin Ordinance was composed of two hundred and fifty-eight articles; it was a complete code of administration that planned a hierarchy of elective



• The butchers came to the palace and told the dauphin to lead a more sober life. •

officers, carefully controlled as to their powers. It assured justice to citizens of all classes, providing in much detail against injustice, oppression, or abuse of the law. It is an instrument that has been much admired by students of law and government.

Unfortunately, but inevitably, continued excesses of the Cabochins ended by frustrating the efforts of the University and of the wiser burghers. A reaction took place. In August of 1413 the butchers and skinners left Paris in order to escape the just punishment of the people that threatened them. Soon after, the duke of Burgundy, feeling himself insecure without

his most vigorous allies, also left; he prudently took the road to Flanders. Then all might have been well save that the Armagnacs at once entered the capital and seized control of the government. Their first act was to revoke the Cabochin Ordinance.

This occurred in September, 1413. In the following February John made a fruitless attempt to come back. He was called upon to disavow his defense of the murder of the duke of Orléans. That was a mere form, for disavowal of that document would have led to his condemnation. Upon John's refusal to disavow, the documents in the case were publicly burned before Notre-Dame. The Armagnacs, strengthened by royal forces, then marched against John. They took Compiègne and Soissons, Burgundian cities, and went on to besiege Arras. This siege dragged on until it led to terms of peace that were signed in February, 1415. John made an appearance of submission, promising not to ally himself with England or ever to come to Paris again unless invited by the king. We shall soon see how well he kept his promise.

The return of the English and the renewal of the century-long struggle were now at hand, and John had much to do with these events. But, before going on to them, we should consider briefly their background in England. There the boy Richard II, son of the Black Prince, succeeded his grandfather, Edward III, in 1377. The civil troubles that followed, of which the most notable was Wat Tyler's rebellion, ran a much shorter course than the contemporary troubles of France and had much less effect upon the prosperity of the nation. The Fourteenth Century, a very unfortunate century for France, was marked in England by important progress both in her form of government and in her economic life.

In the fifty-year reign of Edward III (1327-1377)

important gains were made by Parliament in its powers ; Edward had to allow these in order to secure the subsidies necessary for his campaigns in France. The two Houses of Parliament were established and the balance of powers between them defined. The purely elective House of Commons gave to the people of England a representation in government that the people of France did not achieve until centuries later. In 1361 French ceased to be the official language of the courts and of Parliament. Thereby the last surviving symbol of the old rivalry between Anglo-Saxon and Norman elements disappeared ; all distinction between conquerors and conquered became a thing of the past; all were English.

Many Flemish artisans, encouraged by Edward III, went to England and perfected there the manufacture of cloth ; the use of foreign cloths was forbidden ; that and other similar measures contributed to the prosperous development of manufacture.

In 1399 there came the *coup d'état* of Henry of Lancaster, cousin of the king, who succeeded in having Richard deposed and himself crowned. Richard, imprisoned, died of hunger in the castle of Pontefract, and with him the line of Plantagenet kings came to an end.

Henry IV, who won the crown by a crime, kept it by courage and sagacity. At Shrewsbury in 1403 he won a great victory over the lords who revolted under the leadership of the count of Northumberland and of the king's own son, the romantic Percy.

Henry V succeeded his father in 1413. Unrest and dissatisfaction existed among his nobles. It was evident that a foreign campaign might avert a domestic crisis, and this the more because the civil war in France offered so alluring an opportunity for renewal of hostilities there. Henry soon made up his mind. In 1415 the second period of the Hundred Years' War was opened by his invasion of Normandy.

CHAPTER FIFTY-ONE

THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT. THE ARMAGNACS FALL IN PARIS. DEATH OF JOHN THE FEARLESS. THE TREATY OF TROYES.

Heny V invades Normandy. His soldiers pillage many cities, drink too much cider, and win a lucky victory at Agincourt. The Burgundians re-enter Paris, but some of the Armagnacs escape and take the dauphin with them. John the Fearless, flirting with both sides, ends by getting deservedly killed and his son becomes an ally of England. Two kings die in Paris in the same year, each leaves a son for whom the crown is claimed, and unhappy France is divided against herself.

Events moved swiftly between 1415 and 1422. In these seven years Henry V invaded France and won the battle of Agincourt; he invaded again, captured Rouen, and imposed the treaty of Troyes under whose terms he married a daughter of the king of France, became its regent during the life of his father-in-law, assured the inheritance for his successor, and became the father of that successor. Henry died at the end of this strenuous period, and his infant son at Windsor was declared king of France and England.

On the side of France, the Armagnacs, discredited by the defeat at Agincourt, were overthrown in Paris, many of their leaders were massacred, and the survivors fled, but succeeded in taking the dauphin with them. Queen Isabeau went over, or was carried over, to the side of the Burgundians. Duke John undertook negotiations with Henry, found him difficult to deal

with, sought a reconciliation with the dauphin and the Armagnacs, and, at an interview for this purpose, was assassinated. His son, Philip the Good, then went completely over to the English. Charles VI and Henry V both died in 1422, leaving the crown to be disputed between the representatives of an infant in England and those of a dauphin who did not dare come north of the Loire. All of that is a good deal to happen in seven years, as history goes.

Early in the summer of 1415 Henry of England landed at the mouth of the Seine with an army of thirty thousand. The late apple trees had not yet shed their blossoms when he attacked at Harfleur. This small place made a resistance out of all proportion to its size. Its heroic defenders stood off the enemy for six weeks. After Harfleur fell, the English gave themselves to their old pleasure of pillaging Normandy. It was then that the apple trees served their turn; Normandy's only available revenge lay in her cider, green cider that the enemy had to drink. The campaign was hot work in hot weather and the thirsty English soldiers drank freely. An epidemic of dysentery broke out and Henry lost a third of his men.

The situation that developed after the cider episode took on a striking resemblance to that prior to Crécy when Edward III escaped from a trap and turned the tables on Philip of Valois. Now similarly, and in nearly the same place, Henry V was trapped in the effort to withdraw his army from Normandy to the north; French forces of eighty thousand under Armagnac leadership barred passage across the Somme. Henry wished to reach Calais. Edward III escaped, you will recall, by passing over a ford near Abbeville. In like manner Henry escaped by finding a ford over the Somme near Péronne, this ford, like the other, being on the line of a forgotten Roman highway.

The French pursued hastily and attacked hastily at Agincourt, October 14, 1415. So too had Philip pursued hastily and attacked hastily. This time the battle occurred on wet and newly plowed ground which handicapped the French cavalry; also they were hemmed in between two woods. The battle was brief and decisive. Within three hours the French again paid dearly for their temerity and for their inferiority in tactics. Like the Black Prince before the battle of Poitiers, Henry offered to make terms, but the French, sure of victory, scorned them. As it turned out, they lost ten thousand men while the English lost but sixteen hundred. Henry, again like Edward after Crécy, withdrew after the battle with an army so reduced that he withdrew all the way to England. But he withdrew only to recruit his forces to make a new spring. The victory at Agincourt was triumph enough for the moment.

In 1417 both civil and foreign war began again. In that year Queen Isabeau deserted the Armagnacs for the Burgundians. Some say that John the Fearless kidnapped her at Tours. However that may have been, she soon became his acquiescent ally. He declared her to be regent of the kingdom and, in her name, he resisted the Armagnacs who were still masters of the government in Paris. He used his old and successful policy in telling the people they should not pay taxes decreed by the Armagnac-controlled government. He also negotiated with the victorious English, signing a treaty of neutrality. He interfered with the food supply of Paris and caused much hunger there. Meanwhile Henry invaded Normandy again, captured Caen, and proceeded to further conquests at his ease.

Conditions became so bad in Paris that the count of Armagnac, who had become constable of the kingdom, was compelled to share control of the city with his old

enemies the burghers. One night in the May of 1418, the burghers admitted into Paris a strong group of their accomplices, the Burgundians. There is a story that a boy stole a key to one of the gates from under his father's pillow in order to do this. The partisans of Burgundy were quickly joined by their old partners in crime, the butchers, and all joyfully set about the business of suppressing the Armagnacs. Those who could not escape were thrown into prison. Of those who escaped, one had the forethought to rush first to the dauphin's bed and carry him off too. Young Charles was not given time to dress; he was carried off in his bed clothes. The history of France might have been radically changed if the dauphin had stopped to dress that night.

The next day the Burgundians, having taken possession of the king, escorted him through the streets as evidence of royal approval of the overthrow of the Armagnacs. The Cabochins needed no further encouragement. Hungry and desperate Parisians joined with them in hunting down and killing Armagnacs wherever they could be found. A few days later a report spread that an Armagnac army was approaching Paris. The mob arose again, raided the prisons, and killed all the imprisoned nobles that could be found. The count of Armagnac perished then and many lords and bishops with him. Corpses lay in the streets and children played with them.

In July of this terrible year (1418) John the Fearless re-entered Paris with Queen Isabeau riding by his side. He was acclaimed with joy by the half-starved people who believed he could alleviate their misery. Vain hope! There came an epidemic that carried off fifty thousand, and the mob again attacked. New violences and massacres occurred. John tried by strategy to deflect the storm. He told the Cabochin leaders that Armagnacs worth hunting down were at Montlhéry.

As soon as they had left the city on this false scent, he shut the gates on them.

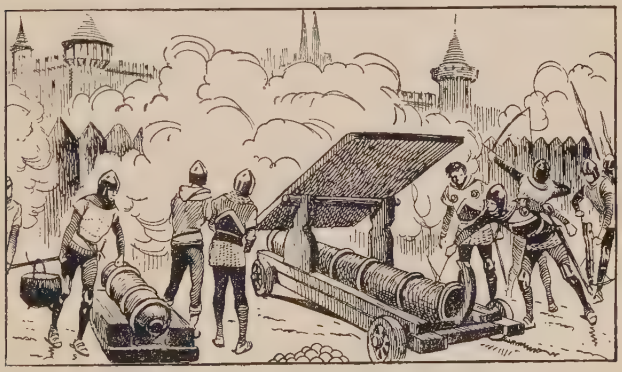
As a matter of fact the Armagnacs, such as were left of them, were farther away than Monthléry. They fully realized that the vicinity of Paris was extremely hazardous for them. They rallied around the dauphin who was all they had left to rally around, all that was left as symbol of the power so recently theirs. The dauphin seemed indeed little more than a symbol then. Powerless, strange events were to bring him back to power again; by one of the miracles of history, the pawn in the hands of the Armagnacs was to become a king.

The disorders in Paris made it easy for the English to continue their conquests in Normandy. Only Rouen made a valiant and historic resistance. For six months her people resisted siege and famine. Alan Blanchard led this resistance. Twelve thousand old men, women, and children were sent out of the city to lessen the need for food; they died of hunger between the lines for the English would not let them pass. All the horses, dogs, and rats in the city were eaten. Finally terms were discussed and Henry offered to spare all the inhabitants save three. Two of these paid ransom for their lives, but the third was poor. Him Henry executed. As he went to his death this proud prisoner cried out, « Even if I had a fortune, I would not sacrifice it to keep an Englishman from dishonor. » He was Alan Blanchard, leader of the heroic defense of Rouen.

Not far from Château-Gaillard, at the head of a great loop of the Seine, stands in ruins today the castle of La Roche-Guyon. The husband of its mistress in those days fell at Agincourt. Henry, wishing to have Normandy as little hostile to him as possible, offered liberal terms to all who would swear loyalty to him; to the mistress of La Roche-Guyon he proposed that she

should keep her castle and all her lands if she would do that, but she refused and went with her three children to live in poverty rather than give allegiance to an English king.

After Henry had conquered Normandy, John went to make terms with him. Henry demanded the return to him of all territory in France ever held by England and the hand of Catherine, the king's daughter, in mar-



The siege of Rouen by the English under Henry V. 1418.

riage, the understanding to be that any son of that marriage would inherit the crown of France. John, having designs himself on the crown, could not concur in these proposals. Henry laughed at him. « Good cousin, » said he, « know that we will have your king's daughter and the rest of our demands or that we will drive all of you together out of the realm. »

John had no scruples about having Henry help him against fellow countrymen who opposed him, but now his ally appeared more dangerous to him than his enemies. Trying to find a basis for a better bargain, he managed to have an interview with the dauphin. Ap-

parently this interview gave John little satisfaction, so he returned to negotiate with Henry. Then certain resolute spirits determined to make an end of this duke who was bargaining with the king of England over the fate of France. John went to see the dauphin again. They met on the bridge at Montereau, where the Seine and the Yonne unite, not far southeast of Paris beyond the forest of Fontainebleau. There, as he knelt before the dauphin whom he despised, John was struck down and killed by certain Armagnacs. The dauphin, it appears, was not a party to this crime.

Louis of Orléans was avenged, but the consequences of this vengeance appeared to be as bad for France as John's murder of Louis had been. John's son Philip the Good, who was King Charles's son-in-law, became at once the unconditional ally of Henry and the enemy of France. Henry had profited by aiding alternately the Armagnacs and the Burgundians at each other's expense. Now the strength of Burgundy was committed to him without reservation; the death of John practically opened to him the gates of Paris.

It is related that, nearly two centuries later, Henry of Navarre wished to see the skeleton of John the Fearless. When his tomb was opened, the monk who had charge of it pointed to the crevice made by a hatchet in John's skull and said, « Sire, there you see the breach by which the English entered France. »

It is far from certain that, even if John had lived, the English would have been kept out, but it is certain that his death prevented any form of resistance. Philip the Good promptly made a treaty of alliance with Henry at Arras and, three weeks later, made another at Rouen in which he undertook to accomplish the marriage of Henry with young Catherine of France and to have him named regent and heir to the throne. Philip and Queen Isabeau obtained a mandate from the king to negotiate a general peace along these lines. The treaty that

delivered France to the English was signed at Troyes May 21, 1420. It was countersigned by a demented king who did not know that his act meant the betrayal of his kingdom.

Henry entered Paris and held power there for two years. But the country was not submissive. With the support of Philip, Henry made himself master north of the Loire, but even in that region Sens, Melun, Montereau, and Meaux made valiant resistances that cost the English dear. One of Henry's brothers, the duke of Clarence, was defeated and killed on an expedition into Anjou. The king himself fell ill. When they brought him the news that his young wife at Windsor had given him a son, that news failed to cheer him. He is reported to have said, « Henry of Monmouth will have reigned little and conquered much. Henry of Windsor will reign long and lose all. The will of God be done. »

Henry died at the castle of Vincennes on the last day of August in 1422. Less than two months later Charles, King of France in name only, died at the palace of Saint-Pol, and all his unhappy people wept for their poor mad king for whom they had great pity and affection. Charles was buried at Saint-Denis, but not his own son nor any other prince of the house of France accompanied that most pitiful of all royal funerals. The ceremonies were conducted by the duke of Bedford, an Englishman. When the body was lowered into the tomb, the duke of Berry, master of arms of France, cried out, « May God have pity and grace upon the soul of the mighty and excellent Prince Charles, King of France, sixth of the name, our natural and sovereign lord. May God give a good life to Henry, by the grace of God King of France and of England, now our sovereign lord. »

Henry, « by the grace of God King of France and England », was at that time an infant hardly eight

months old. Like Charles, but for different reasons, his kingship of France was a kingship in name only. He never reigned there in person. His uncle, the duke of Bedford, succeeded his father as regent in Paris. English authority seemed well established and preparations went forward for an expedition to the south which should crush the supporters of the dauphin and bring all France under English rule. Little was thought of the rightful heir, that timid prince cowering beyond the Loire, and of course nothing at all was thought of a certain thirteen-year old shepherd-girl then tending her flocks on the hills by Domremy in Lorraine.

CHAPTER FIFTY-TWO

CHARLES VII « KING OF BOURGES ». ARTHUR OF BRITTANY, COUNT OF RICHMOND. THE SIEGE OF ORLÉANS BEGINS.

Rival claimants to the crown. The lawful king dares not come north of the Loire, but every day the English invaders become less popular. Arthur of Brittany becomes a valuable ally of the dauphin. An affair in Flanders makes the new good duke of Burgundy cool as to his English allies who invade the south but are checked at Orléans. The tide begins to turn against the invaders.

About the time that the infant Henry of England was proclaimed king of France at Saint-Denis, certain knights at a small town south of the Loire made a dissenting proclamation. The small town was Mehun-sur-Yèvre near Bourges and the dissenting proclamation declared that Charles, the seventh of that name, was, by the grace of God, the rightful king of France.

Charles was at that time nineteen years old. Conflicting statements exist as to his character. One is that he was « of gracious appearance, but weak in body, pale, of little courage, and constantly in fear of a violent death ». His fear of a violent death is not surprising in view of all the violent deaths of which he had been witness; that fear may be credited to intelligence. Another statement is that, « he was a good Latinist, a good talker, and wise in council ».

The wisdom of Charles in council was not apparent in the early part of his reign. At that time he let counselling be done for him by others who were poor counsellors. He had few ideas of his own to offer,

showing little confidence or interest in his destiny. His greatest apparent desire was to be left alone south of the Loire, there to amuse himself as best he could in that pleasant country. He revealed no ambition in the matter of moving against the English; he was willing not to molest them as long as they did not molest him; he had seen enough of strife, suffering, and bloodshed; he wanted to get some pleasure out of a life that he had reason to suspect might not be very long. He knew that he was hated by his mother, Queen Isabeau, who preferred his sister Catherine to him. He knew that the treaty of Troyes, in whose making she had lent a willing hand, referred to « horrible and dreadful crimes committed by Charles, the so-called dauphin ». He knew that his innocence of the murder of John the Fearless was not believed; that Philip the Good, his brother-in-law, was his sworn enemy. He knew that the English called him in scorn « the king of Bourges » and he seemed content to remain just that. All things considered, it seemed better to take things easily in the sunshine of the Touraine rather than enter into what seemed would be a hopeless struggle in the north. Let nature take its course.

That is precisely what happened. Nature did take its course, and, thanks to its mysterious processes, Charles's lost kingdom came back to him. The nature of the English made them hated by the French. The nature of the French made them forget old hatreds of each other in a new patriotism, born of the common desire to rid their beloved soil of foreign invaders. The greedy nature of the duke of Gloucester, regent of England, compelled him to make an enemy of Philip the Good on account of certain coveted territory in Flanders. Finally, the noble nature of a certain peasant girl, inspired by visions, led her to come to the aid of the dauphin at a time when just such apparently super-

natural aid could be of marvellous effect. After a century that was dark indeed, all things seemed to work together for the salvation of France as a nation, and, incidentally, for the establishment of Charles as king.

There are limitations of nature beyond which it appears men may not go for long in control of other men. Reactions arise to break controls that become artificial. Such a reaction now set in against English control in France. Within fifteen years the treaty of Troyes, created by powerful princes who set their acts against the course of nature, was wiped out by that course. It passed into oblivion where also ultimately pass all similar arrangements that nature does not indorse.

The English made elaborate preparations for their expedition to the south. The duke of Bedford, regent in Paris, was a careful man. He realized far better than his brother, the duke of Gloucester, the importance of keeping on excellent terms with Philip the Good whose cooperation in France was essential; Bedford's whole policy in France was based on that principle. With Philip's aid, the English won victories over the supporters of Charles at Crevant in 1423 and at Verneuil in 1424. Then they were free to enter the valley of the Loire. They captured Beaugency and Jargeau, and, in 1428, began the siege of Orléans. Orléans was the key to the south; if it fell, Charles's cause was lost.

Charles apparently did nothing to aid Orléans. He held fêtes and made merry. One of his knights is reported to have said of him that he was « losing his kingdom with gaiety ». Others claim that any such statement was unjust; that Charles did all he could to undermine the English though not strong enough to make a direct attack upon them.

A notable example of this undermining was his success in winning over to his side Arthur of Brittany. Arthur, whose widowed mother had married Henry IV of England, held the English title count of Richmond. He was one of the most gifted of the minor characters in the play of those times; first French, then English, then French again in his allegiance, his record reveals how lightly nationality rested, especially upon those who had friends and relatives on both sides.

You will recall that the war for the succession in Brittany ended in victory for the house of Montfort after the battle of Auray in 1364; it was there that Duguesclin was captured and Charles of Blois, the rival candidate, was killed. Jeanne, wife of John of Montfort who became duke of Brittany as John V, was a daughter of Charles the Bad of Navarre. Their first son became duke of Brittany as John VI and their second son was Arthur; he became by inheritance count of Richmond after his mother became queen of England, but he never had a chance to enjoy his Richmond properties; he enjoyed only the title.

Arthur's brother, John VI of Brittany, married a daughter of Charles VI of France, that daughter of the mad king being the fourth of whose marriage you have heard. The king's insanity evidently did not discourage any suitors who might improve their situation by marrying into the royal family. Isabelle was the oldest of the four daughters; she married Richard II, and, after his death, Charles, Duke of Orléans. The second daughter was Jeanne; she it was who married John of Montfort who became John VI of Brittany. The third daughter, Michelle, was the one who married Philip the Good of Burgundy. Catherine, the youngest, married Henry V, and was the mother of Henry VI. Charles VI also had three sons of whom Charles VII was the youngest. The other two, who died before their father, were Louis and John. Louis

was the dauphin during the early stages of the Armagnac-Burgundian civil war. John was duke of Berry.

Arthur of Brittany was a close friend of the dauphin Louis, who did not live to reign; under him Arthur held an important command in the Armagnac forces. He was made prisoner at Agincourt and taken to England where, for the first time in twelve years, he saw his mother. Her stepson, Henry V, was then reigning. Arthur, after a period of imprisonment, regained his liberty by espousing the cause of his mother's stepson; he even persuaded his brother. John of Brittany, to support Henry and the treaty of Troyes. The adventurous Arthur also married a sister of Philip the Good; that seemed to commit him completely to the then joint cause of Burgundy and England.

After the death of Henry V, Arthur urged the regent duke of Bedford to give him command of an army. Careful Bedford could not see his way clear to grant this request. Arthur's ardor for his newly espoused allegiance promptly cooled. He was persuaded to meet Charles VII, who received him cordially. In March of 1425 Charles, then at Chinon, conferred upon Arthur the sword of constable of the kingdom, the highest military command. Arthur made an excellent constable. He succeeded in turning out some of Charles's bad counsellors whose reputations were seriously smirched by the part they had in the murder of John the Fearless on the bridge at Montereau, thus removing an insurmountable obstacle to a reconciliation between Charles and Philip, an end for which Arthur worked assiduously. He also persuaded his brother to support Charles; a treaty of peace between Charles and John of Brittany was signed by them at Saumur the same year that Arthur became constable. Unfortunately, those hostile to him at Charles's cour

succeeded in having Arthur banned and deprived of power from 1427 to 1434.

At this same time other events were moving in Charles's favor without any effort on his part. In the north, in Hainaut, an important county on the eastern side of Flanders, there lived an unhappy princess. She was Jacqueline of Hainaut who married John, Duke of Berry, the second son of Charles VI. When she became a widow in 1417, she moved back home and married her cousin, the duke of Brabant. This cousin's uncle, who was bishop of Liége, attacked the marriage as being contrary to the rules of the church; he made an arrangement with his nephew whereby Jacqueline's Hainaut was to be sequestered to the benefit of the bishop. Jacqueline, furious, went to England, had her second marriage annulled by one of the rival popes of the time, married the duke of Gloucester and came back with her new husband and many of his men to take possession of Hainaut. That was too much for Philip the Good. He could not afford to let Hainaut fall into the hands of an English duke; it was too nearly a part of his own Flanders. Philip aided the duke of Brabant, Jacqueline's ex-husband, in resisting her new one. The English forces withdrew, but the affair did not end as simply as that. Gloucester had made an enemy of Philip whose support of the English cause became at best half-hearted after the incident of Hainaut. Gloucester's greed served France well in turning Burgundy back toward her natural allegiance.

Other facts revealed that French resistance, though in eclipse, was far from overcome. Mont-Saint-Michel continued an heroic defense. Towns in Picardy and Champagne remained loyal to Charles. In 1427 the English were repulsed in an effort to win Montargis; that small city withstood a three-months siege at the end of which the besiegers were driven off by a smaller

force under Dunois and La Hire, two of the powerful and fearless knights who served the legitimate king. Many valiant warriors went voluntarily to aid in the defense of Orléans, as though for the pleasure of fighting against the English. Scotland and Castille sent soldiers to aid.

The earl of Salisbury commanded the besiegin forces at Orléans in 1428. The city was well fortified; it had successfully resisted Henry V in 1421. The garrison contained only four hundred men when the siege began, but they were all experienced soldiers under an intrepid leader, Raoul de Gaucourt. It was he who had commanded at the defense of Harfleur; he had passed thirteen years in an English prison as the price of that heroism. The towns-people were zealous in doing all they could to help in holding the city. At the approach of the English, they burned the suburbs and withdrew within the walls.

There was artillery on both sides, but that of the French was superior Late in October the English, having battered a breach in the walls, made an assault. In the violent counter-attack that threw the enemy back, the women of Orléans played an important part. Salisbury sounded the retreat. Realizing then that the siege would be a long affair, and that winter was approaching, he began to surround the city with towers on strong points in which his troops would be protected and from which they could menace any relief that might approach. Evidently, however, these towers were far apart and not heavily garrisoned because food supplies and reinforcements did pass them without serious difficulty.

The seventy cannon of Orléans in charge of master gunners helped greatly in her defense. Many English leaders were killed by accurate gun fire from the walls. Duruy writes that, «A schoolboy during the

dinner hour found on the ramparts a cannon already loaded; he fired it and fled from fear. The ball struck the earl of Salisbury full in the face as he mounted one of the siege towers, and as William Glasdale was saying to him, « My lord, you see your city ». The English leader died, and the next day « the bastard of Orléans », the brave and handsome Dunois [1], entered the city with the best knights of the time and several

The death of Salisbury at Orléans.

hundred soldiers. Others followed and by degrees the garrison was raised to seven thousand men.

The English, however, obstinately continued their work of tower building. Sir John Falstaff came down from Paris in charge of a convoy of provisions. He was attacked by French and Scotch troops who did not await the arrival of certain tardy reinforcements. Falstaff's men fought valiantly among their wagons,

1. Dunois was a natural son of Louis of Orléans who was assassinated in Paris in 1407. He was one of the great knights of France. His castle, with a splendid unfinished Renaissance wing, stands at Châteaudun, beyond Chartres on the road to Tours.

his archers doing deadly work. The attack failed. It succeeded only in scattering over the field of battle the great quantity of herrings that Falstaff was escorting. One hundred and twenty French knights lost their lives in this « battle of the herrings ». The count of Clermont, criticised for failing to support the attack as he should have done, dishonorably left Orléans, taking two thousand men with him. Her case now seemed desperate. An appeal was made to Philip the Good for aid. He was willing to take over the city if the duke of Bedford would consent. The duke would not consent.

Orléans became an earlier Verdun in the eyes of the French people. They felt that if she fell their cause was lost. There was a nation-wide effort to aid her with supplies, a sort of national effort that was new in the history of France and betokened a spirit of solidarity that was contagious. The French people, united in adversity, were ready to rise to save themselves.

At this time a rumour went abroad that France, betrayed by bad Queen Isabeau, a Bavarian, would be saved by a virgin from among her own people. Some sign, some symbol of inspired guidance, was eagerly looked for. It was not to be looked for long in vain.

CHAPTER FIFTY-THREE

JOAN OF ARC SAVES FRANCE. HER EARLY LIFE AT DOMREMY. THE ENGLISH RETREAT AND CHARLES IS CROWNED.

A peasant girl sets an immortal example, lightening the dark tragedy of the scene with a beauty and nobility of action that inspires the French and terrifies the English. She leads the king's men to victory at Orléans and the king himself to coronation at Reims. Joan's courage spreads like flame. France, crushed and resigned, suddenly becomes herself again.

Joan of Arc was born in 1412 at the village of Domremy which is not far from Vaucouleurs in Lorraine. Her parents were peasants who lived in a little house that still stands near the church. You may go to Domremy and visit it; you may enter the room where the Maid of Orléans was born and the little room where she sewed and spun; you may see the hill slopes where she tended her sheep and the garden where she first saw her visions; you may be conscious there of a spell that seems still to hang over the place.

Joan did not learn to read or write, but she learned and practised well the arts of a peasant girl's life. Yet, despite her fidelity to the duties of the household, despite her great kindliness that made her loved, she was a strange girl. She would gaze by the hour into the heavens as though beyond the clouds she could catch glimpses of something of great import. She seemed to have a gift of nature that was supernatural, a chord responsive to the visions she saw and the dreams she dreamed, a quality that made her

dreams and visions more important to her than all else, and a confidence in them that compelled her, in spite of all obstacles, to go where they guided and fulfil the mission they directed. She lived so close to nature that she responded to inspiration as inevitably as clouds move across the sky. She is perhaps

Joan at Domremy.

the supreme example of fulfilment of the noble dreams of youth; the most famous instance of what unquestioning response to higher impulses may accomplish if it has courage to break through pressure of environment and power to resist compulsion to be and do like others. Joan's ideas were not rare, but she was rare as an instrument of fulfilment, unique as evidence of nature's higher possibilities in mankind. The gap between Joan of Arc and any other girl seems tremendous. It seems less, however, when we recall that

in every girl at least a little of Joan is probably present at the beginning.

Domremy was not so remote as to be out of the bitter current of the times. They well knew there of the sad estate into which France had fallen. Frequently they saw soldiers, fresh from battle, passing along the roads. News came of stirring and tragic events, of war with foreign invaders and of civil war between their own countrymen. Domremy, loyal to the old order, was for the Armagnacs, but the neighboring village of Maxey was for the Burgundians. It was like that throughout much of France. Frequent fights occurred between the villagers. Joan's three brothers often came home with wounds that she bandaged. In long winter evenings by the fireside there were stories of the English campaigns; echoes came of cruel deeds by the invaders in Normandy, of the flight of the dauphin from Paris, of the death of Charles the Well-Loved, of the proclamation at Saint-Denis of an English king of France.

These things greatly troubled Joan's sensitive nature. She was extremely devout, and, in her devotion, the cause of the rightful king seemed the cause of God; his overthrow seemed the overthrow of her religion. She was an implicit believer in the divine right. One June day of 1423, when she was in the garden by the church thinking sadly of all these things, a bright vision appeared to her. A voice seemed to come from the vision, saying, « Joan, go and deliver the king of France and restore the kingdom to him. » The vision passed and left the maid trembling. But again and again it came back to her. In it she thought she saw Saint-Catherine and Saint-Margaret in company with an archangel.

In the summer of 1425 came news of the defeat of the English in their effort to capture Mont-Saint-Michel. It was implicitly believed that the archangel Saint-

Michael was responsible for this. Then it seemed to Joan that Saint-Michael too appeared in her recurring vision with the authority of his victory. She could no longer resist the voices. Into her own valley the enemies of the king brought murder and destruction. The time had come for her to go.

Her father would not think of giving his permission. He said he would rather see her dead than among the soldiers. Undeterred, she appealed to an uncle who took her to Vaucouleurs. Baudricourt, the captain there, scolded her and sent her away harshly. Mad peasant girl! Sadly she returned home, but soon she and all her family had to leave in haste because a detachment of English soldiers attacked the village. When they returned Joan found her beloved Domremy in ruins; the enemy had burned it. Resolutely she went again to Vaucouleurs and again she asked to be sent to Chinon, saying, « I must go to the dauphin even if my legs are worn to the knees in reaching him. Certainly I would rather remain at home with my poor mother, for that seems my proper place in life, but I must go because God requires that I go. »

This time Baudricourt sent word to the court about Joan and, apparently, received authority to send her there. While she was waiting at Vaucouleurs the battle of the herrings occurred. On that very day Joan asked Baudricourt to make haste because, she said, « the dauphin has just now had a great loss near Orléans ». Finally, late in February of 1429, she was allowed to start. Ahead of her lay a long and perilous march in bitter weather through country infested by the enemy; it is nearly three hundred miles from Vaucouleurs to Chinon. Joan's escort consisted of two men-at-arms and three servants. She rode a horse given by the people of Vaucouleurs who were enthusiastic for her mission, and carried a sword, the gift of Baudricourt. Her hair was cut short and she was dressed

like a man. Without a trace of fear, constantly encouraging the others, she pushed resolutely forward. Joan was strong of body as well as of mind. On the eleventh day the little group came to the walls of Chinon.

In the midst of the picturesque ruins of the three castles of Chinon you may see the fireplace of the great room in which Joan met the dauphin; that historic meeting place now stands open to the sky; all the

Joan on her way to Chinon.

floors and the roof of the castle are gone. But you try to conjure up the ancient scene. There, five hundred years ago, a seventeen-year-old peasant maid confronted unabashed a brilliant, sceptical court. Charles, it is said, tried to conceal himself among his courtiers, putting Joan to the test of finding him. Without hesitation she went straight to him, and, kneeling, said, « God give you life, gentle dauphin ».

« But I am not the dauphin! » exclaimed Charles, pointing to another.

« Prince, you are he and no other, » was Joan's answer. « Why do you not believe in me? God has sent me to rescue you if it pleases you to give me men-at-arms. By His grace and by force of arms I will save

Orléans and lead you to be consecrated king at Reims.»

Charles was greatly puzzled. Certainly Joan made a strong impression upon him, but he shrank before the unprecedented idea of putting a girl, a peasant girl at that, in command of an army. His high court and certain theologians who had left the University of Paris were established at Poitiers. He sent Joan there to be examined by them.

No definite records have come down to us of the

At Chinon Joan picks out the dauphin and greets him.

rigorous questioning she underwent at Poitiers at the hands of lawyers and theologians. However, it appears that her mental victory in that examination was no less remarkable than her military victories that followed. She answered all questions with a sincerity, simplicity, and intelligence that convinced the sceptical examiners of her good faith. Perhaps there were certain men of ability at Poitiers who, aware of the popular feeling, realized how greatly the inspired leadership of Joan might serve their cause. Of course they had no confidence in her military ability, but they might easily have believed in her psychological value. They recommended to Charles that she be allowed to lead a force to Orléans.

They gave to Joan the title « chief of war », and provided for her personal attendance a squire, a page, two heralds, a priest, two valets, and her brother Peter. The dauphin himself presented her with a rich suit of mail. Her white standard was embroidered with the lilies of France and bore the device, « Jesus-Maria ». She preferred to carry her standard rather than her sword, saying that she wished to kill no one. She never did kill any one.

The news that Joan had been given command of the dauphin's army spread rapidly abroad. The psychological effect that may have been hoped for at Poitiers surpassed all expectations. The people hailed her as their savior and forgot their fears. They regarded her as one celestially inspired. The most renowned captain in the world could not have produced so great an effect.

What was of equal importance was that the siege-weary English soldiers before Orléans heard of her and regarded her as a witch. As French fears diminished, theirs increased. It was a superstitious age. The English were nearly ready to make a run for it before they were attacked. Philip of Burgundy, in disaccord with the duke of Bedford, had withdrawn his men. The remaining forces, weakened by the long winter siege, numbered hardly more than five thousand. They were scattered among their separated towers.

Joan came with the spring to Orléans. Like the spring, she came from the south. Crossing the river in boats, brave Dunois and his men went out to meet her as she approached with a small escort and a supply of provisions. It was at eight on the evening of the 29th of April, 1429, that she made her torch-lit entrance into the beleaguered city. « The people hailed her with transports of joy and veneration, regarding her

as an angel of God. » They stood in the streets singing hymns as she passed. With her coming they felt themselves invincible. The zeal of the people spread to the rough and godless soldiery to whom Joan's word became a command. Suddenly they too became religious, imitating the devotion of their saintly leader. It is reported that they even stopped swearing.

The entrance of Joan into Orléans.

Five days later Joan went out and led in her small army that had crossed the river at Blois. The thoroughly scared English confined themselves to oaths and insults as she passed and repassed their towers. They at least had not stopped swearing; they had to swear to keep their courage up. They abandoned all the towers save two in which they concentrated to curse the sorceress. To them Joan sent this message, « English, you who have no right in this kingdom of France, God orders you through me to abandon your forts and

retire ». The only answer was the sound of more profanity.

The French attacked and captured one of the occupied English towers. In the attack on the other Joan was wounded as, in the thick of the fight, she ran to place a ladder against the wall. An arrow struck between neck and shoulder, passing through her body. The English rushed to capture her, but a French captain beat them off. Joan, half-fainting from her wound,

Joan orders a sally from one of the gates of Orléans.

was lifted to her horse and again she led the assault. The tower was captured and the English fled. « They believed that all the powers of hell were leagued against them. » The soldiers and the people of Orléans wished to pursue. That Joan forbade, saying, « Let them go; do not pursue or kill them; today is the Sabbath ». The next day, being Monday, pursuit of the English was resumed and much abandoned material was collected.

After the victory at Orléans, Joan went to Tours to see the dauphin. There she did all she could to persuade him to proceed at once to Reims to be crowned and consecrated. She felt that must be done before the English brought their young king to France and

had him consecrated. But Charles's council would not consent to a march on Reims through hostile country until the English had been driven out of the Loire valley So that driving-out was undertaken.

In June, after a few days of siege, Joan led a victorious assault on Jargeau. Three days later the English evacuated Beaugency without giving battle. Talbot, greatest of the English captains, and Falstaff, who were leading forces to the relief of Beaugency, turned

The retreat of the English from before Orléans.

in retreat, but were overtaken near Patay where a decisive engagement was fought. The famous English courage and skill in battle were no longer evident; against a leadership they thought to be supernatural they could not stand. Urged on by Joan, the French captains rushed to the attack before the enemy had time to form its lines. Talbot fought bravely, but Falstaff and his men fled without fighting at all. Twenty-five hundred English fell while the French lost hardly a man. What a contrast to Crécy and Agincourt! The army that had undertaken to finish the conquest of France fled in haste and disorder. This brilliant victory near Patay opened the way for the march on Reims.

They started from Gien late in June. Nearly two hundred miles were to be traversed through Burgundian country, supposedly hostile. They went by Auxerre, Troyes, and Châlons. Auxerre asked for and was allowed neutrality. Strong-walled Troyes however, was defended by a garrison of Burgundians and English. The first attack failed. One of the dauphin's chief councillors urged a return to the Loire on account of lack of artillery and provisions ; the soldiers had had

The attack upon the walls of Troyes.

nothing to eat for several days save such roots as they could find in abandoned fields. The council inclined to a retreat. Joan urged that they could take Troyes in three days. « We could wait six », was the reply, « if we could be sure your words would come true. » « Six ! », she cried, « You shall enter the town this very day. » Instantly she commanded an attack and ran to the walls. The English at Troyes had heard of her victory at Orléans and were not minded to share the fate of their comrades-in-arms whose superstitious fears they already shared. Hastily they offered to evacuate the city, and did so without striking another blow.

At Châlons the archbishop led out his people to greet

the royal party as welcome and honored guests. At Reims two Burgundian lords urged the people to resist, saying that an army would soon arrive and easily disperse the French forces. The people would have none of this advice; on the contrary they sent out a deputation of greeting and welcome. The expedi-

The coronation of Charles VII at Reims.

tion, whose success had seemed so improbable, thus ended in triumph.

On Sunday, the 17th of July, 1429, the dauphin was consecrated in the cathedral as king of France. Joan, standing beside with her standard, knew that her mission had been fulfilled. « Gentle prince », she said to Charles, « the will of God has been fulfilled. You are the true king, him to whom the kingdom of France rightfully belongs. » To the Lord Chancelior she said, « Now I have done what the Lord commanded me, and I greatly wish to return to my father and mother and to look after their flocks and herds. » It seems more than pitiful that she was not permitted to do so.

CHAPTER FIFTY-FOUR

JOAN IS TAKEN PRISONER. THE ETERNAL TRAGEDY OF ROUEN. END OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

The most pathetic chapter in history. But Joan's martyrdom was not in vain. It did more than end the Hundred Years' War; it exalted qualities that may end all war. Joan, now a saint, continues to inspire. Philip the Good of Burgundy consents to the annulment of the treaty of Troyes, and the discouraged English are finally driven from the soil of France.

After the coronation at Reims, Joan, yielding to persuasion, remained with the royal army. She urged an immediate attack on Paris, still dominantly Burgundian and hostile to Charles. Swift action was what appealed to Joan; so far it had served her well; she lent an unwilling ear to counsels for prudent procedure and had little sympathy for arguments favoring diplomacy rather than attack. There were strong points, however, in the arguments of those who favored negotiations at this stage. If the duke of Burgundy could be persuaded to support Charles, that would be better than winning Paris by force of arms, for Paris then would of her own accord open her gates to the new king.

While the policy of the royal party hung thus in the balance, the royal army proceeded in the general direction of the Ile-de-France. It passed by way of Soissons, Laon, Provins, Coulommiers, Château-Thierry, and Compiègne. All these cities welcomed Charles as their lawful sovereign, the people having heard

with amazement of the coronation at Reims, an act whose audacity delighted them. The dauphin's swift and romantic emergence from eclipse stirred their imagination and aroused their flagging patriotism. The obstinate bishop of Beauvais, who remained pro-English for his personal interests, was driven out by his own people and compelled to take refuge in Rouen. That obstinate bishop was Pierre Cauchon on whom rests the historic dishonor of sentencing Joan to be burned.

Late in August the royal forces reached Saint-Denis, just north of the walls of Paris. Perhaps it would have been better to wait there while undertaking negotiations with Burgundy. But, on the seventh of September, Joan led an assault that lasted throughout the day and failed. She was wounded again. She wished to go on with the fight, but was carried by force from the field and her soldiers retreated. This was her first real failure. Three days later she wished to renew the attack at another point, but, when she went to reconnoitre, she found that a bridge she had to cross had been removed by those of her own side. The counsellors of delay had won their case. Already ambassadors had been sent to Arras to negotiate with Philip. The order was given to march back to the Loire.

It was known that many within the walls of Paris already favored support of the legitimate king. It was known that the English were discouraged and were having difficulties in raising new forces at home. It was known that Philip of Burgundy had good reason for being himself discouraged with the English as allies. Time was working on the side of France. To withdraw, to cease attacking for the time being, was the sensible thing to do, hateful though that was to the impetuous temper of Joan She thought her visions told her that time must not be lost. She had a presentiment of disaster.

Joan spent October in impatient inaction at Bourges. In November they let her go to besiege La Charité, but this siege failed because her troops dispersed. The king had definitely decided to negotiate rather than to fight, a reasonable decision in view of the discussions going on with Burgundy, and the more so because fighting meant to fight his own countrymen as well as the English. It was better to let Burgundian support fall away from England of itself.

However, discussions of peace with Philip at Nevers bore no immediate fruit. In the spring of the next year Joan heard that the Burgundians were threatening Reims and Compiègne where the royal garrisons were weak. With a small force, and apparently without royal sanction, she went to Compiègne. There on the 23d of May, she was taken prisoner. She had made a courageous sortie, leading five hundred men to attack a Burgundian position. Surrounded by superior forces, they were compelled to retreat. Joan, always very bad at retreat, reached the gate after the drawbridge had been lifted. It is natural to think that this might have been done deliberately to betray her; such a charge was made at the time but could not be proved; the captain responsible for the lifting of the drawbridge continued successfully to resist the enemy after Joan was captured.

Thus Joan fell into the hands of the Burgundians and was by them sold to the English. After various imprisonments elsewhere, she was finally transferred to Rouen, the English stronghold, on Christmas day of 1430. The news of her capture stirred the whole country. Though it was celebrated in Paris by public fêtes and a *Te Deum* of thanksgiving, elsewhere in France there spread an agony of grief. There were public prayers for Joan's deliverance and endless processions in evidence of devotion to her. The king was besought to spare neither means nor money in recover-

ing for France her glorious heroine. But her recovery was not accomplished.

Thus we come to the most pathetic, the most lamentable incident in the joint history of France and England. The details of Joan's trial may be passed over lightly. They are heart-rending, but they are unimportant. It was undertaken to prove in legal form that she was a sorceress. The charges were that she had practised magic, that she had disobeyed her parents, that she wore men's clothes, and that she claimed to have had celestial conversations that were unauthorized by the Church! Her ecclesiastical judges, notably Cauchon who drew up the charges, were already in the pay of the English. But, try as they would, they could not establish a case that legally justified her execution. She was finally assigned to the custody of the Church, and by the Church condemned to imprisonment for life.

Meanwhile the English had further reverses of fortune. It was felt that the sorceress was still exercising her spells even from her prison cell. English leaders believed that the only way they could put heart into their men was by the public execution of Joan. Lord Warwick said at Rouen, after she had been assigned to the custody of the Church, « The king paid dearly for her; he wished her to die by a judicial sentence and meant her to be burned; we shall know how to gain possession of her again. » Since Henry VI was hardly ten years old at that time, it is hard to attribute to him personally any such bloodthirsty sentiment, but it may have been. The boy king might easily have believed that she was a witch who deserved to be burned since he had been told she was. In matters of belief they were all boys; cruel, credulous, and superstitious children.

The English regained control of Joan by a juvenile trick. Her jailers took away her woman's clothes and

left her only a man's clothes. Her judges came to witness that, because she had to, she had put on male attire again; they decreed that she had relapsed into sin, and forthwith condemned her to be burned alive.

On the 30th of May, 1431, that terrible ceremony occurred in the square of the Old Market at Rouen. The scene was too tragic, too pitiful, even for the heartless judges who created it. They burst into tears and could not bring themselves to order the carrying out of the judgment they themselves had made. Finally, English soldiers, who were kept waiting while a long sermon was preached and complained about the delay in their dinner, seized Joan without orders and tied her to the stake. It was set at the top of a great pile so that the execution might be as spectacular as possible, and the flames mount up but slowly to envelop their victim.

Throughout her agonizing ordeal Joan maintained an amazing dignity, a saint-like serenity. She reproached no one, not even the king whom she had herself saved and who did not try to save her. When her last moments came, when she reached the top of that little eminence that was to be her Calvary, she looked down and saw the great silent crowd beneath and felt their horror. « Ah, Rouen, Rouen, » she said then, « I fear greatly that you will suffer for my death. »

They sought to wring from her in the last moments some accusation of King Charles, but she would only say, « What I have done, well or ill, the king has had no share in it; not by him was I advised. » Then, as the flames mounted, she urged the priest who held a cross before her to go down. The fire mounted and touched her body. Joan, lifting her head, said, « Yes, my voices were from God; they have not deceived me. » Her poor body was burned, but the flames could not destroy her noble spirit or weaken her

sublime courage. Wreathed in fire, when at last her head fell forward, expiring, she cried in a loud voice, « Jesus ».

Even the English who had clamored for Joan's death were terrified by what they had done. They had thought to destroy a sorceress, but when they went away they were sick at heart, and one of them said, « We are lost; we have burned a saint. »

Charles has been bitterly reproached by posterity for making no apparent effort to rescue Joan. That she went to Compiègne of her own accord and against advice is not an argument in the king's defense. It should be realized, however, that a military effort to rescue her would almost surely have failed. All that she had fought for and won might have been lost again in a vain effort to save her. We may believe that she realized this and died knowing that her great work had not been in vain, nor undone by her final sacrifice. However, it is probable that her liberty might have been purchased from the Burgundians or the pope persuaded to intervene in her behalf. Charles's failure to act lays him open to the charge of one of the basest of historical ingratitudes.

In the same year that Joan's ashes were scattered on the Seine at Rouen, the English brought their boy king from Windsor to Paris to have him crowned at Notre-Dame. No longer could they have him crowned at Reims as they had planned. This ceremony, designed as a compliment to the French, was not taken by them as such. Coronations were supposed to be joyful occasions when prisoners were freed, taxes reduced, and royal gifts made to the people. The coronation of Henry VI did not live up to this tradition. It was unfavorably compared with a bourgeois wedding. An English cardinal officiated, and the people

of Paris showed more discontent than enthusiasm.

The English were no more fortunate in attempts to regain lost ground in the country; on the contrary, they continued to lose ground. They failed in a persistent effort to win back Compiègne. The martyrdom of Joan intensified everywhere hatred of the very name of England. Inspired by her patriotism and supreme sacrifice, fearlessly, recklessly, the French followed brave Dunois from victory to victory. Chartres and Lagny were retaken and upper Normandy, save Rouen, freed itself. Arthur of Richmond, restored to power as constable, adroitly took advantage of the mistakes and weaknesses of the English and continued his policy of seeking a reconciliation between France and Burgundy, between Charles and Philip. There was no difficulty about this so far as Charles was concerned. The problem was to persuade Philip that Charles was innocent of the murder of Philip's father at Montereau, and that Burgundy's pledges to England were not necessarily binding. Philip, however, had conscientious scruples that held him from an easy reconciliation. He was not a man to take lightly his pledged word, nor easily to forgive the assassination of his father by those who once composed Charles's council.

About this time certain letters of the brother dukes, Bedford and Gloucester, came into Philip's hands. Gloucester had written to Bedford urging Philip's arrest, not giving him credit for such loyalty to England as he still possessed. Bedford replied to Gloucester that he thought it would be better to have Philip discreetly murdered. It could hardly be expected that England's hold on Philip would be strengthened by his reading of these letters. In addition to what he learned from the intercepted correspondence, Philip became aware that the dukes had incited the people of Ghent to revolt against him.

Under these conditions the duke of Burgundy had

the noble dream of establishing peace throughout Christendom. It was not for nothing that he was called Philip the Good. In 1435, he summoned to meet at Arras representatives of all the Christian nations. Castille, Navarre, and Aragon came to the assembly as well as England and France. Poland, Denmark, Portugal, Sicily, and Naples were represented there. Thus the League of Nations was dimly foreshadowed five centuries ago. But, then as later, obstacles to general agreement were not long in appearing.

The English stood for the integrity of the treaty of Troyes, an instrument far less defensible than the treaty of Versailles. When they were overruled and only Normandy and Aquitaine were admitted to be legitimately theirs, they left the meeting. Philip still had doubts as to what his own procedure should be, but events helped to solve the problem. While discussions were still going on at Arras, Bedford, who was Philip's brother-in-law, died. That cut the Gordian knot for the duke. On the 21st of September, 1435, he signed with France the treaty of Arras, which put an end to the iniquitous treaty of Troyes.

In the following year Charles entered Paris. Peace with Burgundy had automatically opened its gates to him. Richmond rode through the gate of St-Jacques one day late in May. The English garrison had installed itself in the Bastille. Richmond lacked material for taking that formidable fortress, so he accepted the proposal of the English to surrender it if they were allowed to go free. They marched out of the Bastille and took boats on the river for Rouen, hooted and jeered by the Parisians as they passed.

Charles, once installed in Paris, underwent a remarkable change. He began to show real abilities. The measures he undertook for restoring order in his

chaotic and suffering kingdom were wise in plan and well executed in practice. An account of them comes in the next chapter. Meanwhile the loss of Burgundian support made the English incapable of further acts of aggression. In 1444 they solicited a truce to which Charles agreed; he too had need of peace. But, five years later, certain unpaid English troops from Normandy pillaged the Breton city of Fougères. That ended the truce. The reorganized forces of the king promptly undertook to free France entirely of the English. They were attacked in three places at once. Dunois took Rouen, the count of Saint-Pol won at Gournay, and, later, Arthur of Richmond defeated a fresh English expedition at Formigny by the shore near the Cotentin [1]. In the following year, under Dunois's leadership, Libourne, Bordeaux, and Bayonne were regained. Then at Castillon, in 1453, an English army was defeated and their commander, the great captain Talbot, then eighty years old, was killed. That was the last battle of the Hundred Years' War. After the victory at Castillon, of all France only Calais was left to the English. They might much better have accepted the terms that were offered at Arras.

It is hard to discern any good that came out of the Hundred Years' War that might not better have come without it. Historians have a way of writing about how it gave birth to patriotism, a unified France, and produced other beneficial results. Such ideas may be so presented that they sound fine, but what do they prove? The Hundred Years' War, if it proved anything, proved that war is a total loss. Its beneficial results, if any, were by-products that might quite as well have been achieved without all the bloodshed, crime, and

1. When you motor from Cherbourg to Paris, you pass by a monument that commemorates this battle.

destruction. Historians admit that this war retarded the development of France by more than a century; they admit that it did England more harm than good; they admit that it led to a traditional and very harmful hostility between these two countries; they might as well admit that it had no virtue whatsoever. The French kings who had to do with it were, apart from Charles the Wise, full of faults and stupidities, but the palm for the primary cause must be awarded to English greed. He who fights beyond his own frontiers or those of an ally will always bear in history the presumption of the greater guilt.

CHAPTER FIFTY-FIVE

CHARLES VII THE WELL-SERVED. YOLANDE OF ARAGON AND AGNES SOREL. JACQUES CŒUR AND OTHER ABLE MINISTERS.

Various factors combine to redeem the reign of Charles the Ungrateful. He was unusually fortunate as to his mother-in-law. Radical reform of the military leads to the « Praguerie » , a rebellion in which the king's precocious son takes a leading part. The greatest merchant of the Middle Ages joins the royal council and lives to regret it. The real character of Agnes Sorel remains in doubt.

The wife of Charles VII was Marie of Anjou. She was the daughter of Louis II of Anjou, King of Naples and Sicily, and of Yolande of Aragon, his wife. You will recall that Charles of Anjou, a brother of Saint-Louis, became king of Sicily as one of the incidental results of the long struggle between the popes and the emperors. The Anjou family had difficulties and lapses in retaining this kingdom to which it had no natural right, but it did not lapse in retaining the title, of which more later.

Yolande, the king's mother-in-law, came to live at Charles's court. She is described as « a princess of rare energy ». It was she who persuaded Richmond to have his first interview with the dauphin, she who was Richmond's ablest aid in bringing about the reconciliation of Philip with Charles, she who had most to do with the important reform of the personnel of the king's council. Charles's own mother, Queen Isabeau, who hated him to the end, did her part, though unwillingly, in contributing to the rise of her son's fortunes. She

did it by dying three days after the treaty of Arras was signed.

Another lady who had to do with improving Charles's life was his greatly loved friend, the beautiful Agnes Sorel. Of humble birth, Agnes became the king's favorite. Yolande, wise enough to suppress any mother-in-law jealousy, made a friend of Agnes and secured her cooperation in influencing the king for his and his kingdom's good.

There is historic disagreement as to whether Joan, Yolande, Agnes, Marie his wife, or his good ministers should have chief credit for making a man out of Charles. In any case, that unpromising prince became a good king; he came to be called Charles the Well-Served. It appears to have occurred to no one to give Charles himself any credit for his metamorphosis.

Most important in the new royal council were Jacques Cœur of Bourges, master of finances; Jean Bureau, master of artillery; William Cousinet, master of requests; and Stephen Chevalier, the king's secretary. That none of these men were of noble birth was a significant sign of the times. With the exception of Bureau, they came from civil rather than military life. In the long period of wars the nobility were almost exclusively occupied with military affairs. The general disorder gave to commoners opportunity and experience in administration. When the wars were over, it was among commoners that the king found and used the best abilities available for setting his kingdom in order and administering the difficult affairs of state. This caused much dissatisfaction among the nobles. The only noble who held high office was Richmond, the constable. It happened, however, that Richmond had no sympathy with other nobles who were unruly; in fact he made a notable record in suppressing those who were enemies of the public peace.

The first important measure that aroused aristocratic opposition was the reform of the army. That was a reform so urgent that it had to be accomplished before the English could be driven out of France. The new measure might be called a measure of creation rather than of reform, for, before it came into effect, there was practically no permanent royal army under the king's control. Soldiers of many nationalities served limited engagements for pay, and lords, if they were in the humor to do so, led their vassals into action. But the military strength of the kingdom was inchoate, disunited, and not be counted upon. Worse still was the universal habit of the soldiery of pillaging freely, living off the countryside wherever they passed. Soldier was synonymous with robber; it was almost respectable for soldiers to steal. The civilian population had come to dread those of their own side almost as much as those of the enemy.

At the assembly of the States-General at Orléans in 1439 a large sum was voted for military expenses, and this became a permanent tax. The king proclaimed his right to appoint all military officers and to control their commands; capital punishment was announced for any who assumed commands without royal authorisation. Lords and royally-appointed captains were held responsible for the acts of their men who were not to be allowed to rob or to molest civilians. Most of the lords and old soldiers reacted violently against this proposed curtailment of ancient liberties. War thereafter became more of a business and less a series of interesting adventures.

Charles's oldest son, Louis, was born at Bourges in 1423. He was a remarkable boy. When he was seventeen years old, an important group of discredited nobles decided to seize the king and to place Louis in power as their representative. Precocious and undu-

tiful Louis lent himself without scruples to this plot; this was the sort of thing he liked all his life. Dunois and the dukes of Bourbon and Alençon were also involved in it. La Tremouille, a dismissed minister, was the chief conspirator. This revolt took the name *Praguerie* for no good reason; the revolt of the Hussites at Prague at about the same time was a very different kind of revolt.

The court was then at Angers. The rebels, leaving Angers, went to Blois. From there they undertook to spread rebellion in Poitou. They had the cooperation of the dauphin who was at Poitiers. The people, not knowing what it was all about, showed hostility without favor to the soldiers of both sides; they had learned to hate soldiers of any side.

Thanks to Richmond, the king moved swiftly against the rebels. He took on his expedition about seven thousand men and some of the cannon of Jean Bureau, but he did not weaken the forces that were operating against the English in Normandy. He occupied Loches, drove the duke of Alençon from Saint-Maixent, and captured Melle and Niort. The rebels withdrew into the hills of Auvergne, but Clermont and Montferrand refused to let them enter and the royal forces advanced rapidly. An emissary was sent to the king to sue for peace. The king required that his son come to him. This Louis was reluctant to do. Fighting began again, the rebels retreating. After the royal forces had beaten them at Vichy, Cusset, and Roanne, they decided to surrender on whatever terms they could get. The dauphin, accompanied by the dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, came and knelt before the king, imploring pardon. That having been granted, they asked for pardon for their associates. King Charles suggested that, if they thought so much of their associates, they might return to them. Louis said he must return because he had promised to do so. It was then that Charles made a famous reply.

« Louis », he said, « the gates are open to you, and if they are not wide enough I will have a breach made in the wall for you to pass through wherever you wish. You are my son, and you can be bound to no one without my leave and consent. But go, if you please, for with God's good help we shall find some other of our blood who will better aid us in maintaining our honor and lordship than you have done. »

Louis thereupon began his long record as a practical politician. He remained with his father.

The swift suppression of the Praguerie simplified the work of reorganization of the army and opened the way for other reforms that similarly tended to increase the powers of the crown and to lessen those of the lords. Salutary example was made of all who continued to be refractory. It was thus with the « bastard of Bourbon », the son of a duke and one of the most famous and fearless soldiers of his day. Though in open rebellion against the king, he had the audacity to enter Bar-sur-Aube when the king was there. He was seized, sewed into a sack of leather, and thrown into the river. The duke of Alençon, a hero of the victory of Patay, pardoned for his part in the Praguerie, was found to be carrying on disloyal negotiations with the English; in 1458 he was imprisoned for life. A similar punishment for a similar reason was meted out to the count of Armagnac.

On two occasions, in order to free the kingdom of insubordinate professional soldiers whose presence was an embarrassment, the king imitated the strategy of Duguesclin. As Bertrand had led the Great Companies on a campaign beyond the Pyrenees, so Charles sent a force of fourteen thousand under the leadership of the dauphin to fight in the Alps. This expedition fought in Switzerland in support of Emperor Frederic III; a small but heroic band of Swiss made a famous,

desperate stand behind the walls of a cemetery; there, « they sold their lives dearly and made a great carnage of their adversaries ». Upon another occasion Charles himself led a force of mixed mercenaries into Lorraine where Duke René of Anjou asked for help against revolted Metz; this campaign had small direct results, the people of Metz making a successful resistance, but it contributed importantly by its casualties to the purification of the royal forces. Between 1445 and 1448 it was possible so to reorganize the army that it gave an excellent account of itself, as we have seen, in the final campaigns against the English.

The great work accomplished by Charles's bourgeois ministers should be emphasized. Cousinet had most to do with negotiations with England; he arranged the truce of 1444 and, in that same year, the marriage of the princess, Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Duke René, to Henry VI; « he gave great proofs of devotion and of intelligence ». Stephen Chevalier was the author of most of the wise royal orders of this reign. The brothers, Jean and Gaspard Bureau, were responsible for remarkable improvements in the artillery; their cannon simplified the final defeat of the English and placed formerly impregnable castles at the mercy of the king.

But the most famous of all the ministers of Charles VII was Jacques Cœur. This amazing merchant of Bourges developed from his inland city a great maritime and international business. He entered into competition with Venice for the business of the Orient. He travelled in Egypt and Syria, established agencies around the Mediterranean, and acquired a large fleet for his own business. Before he entered the king's service he had accumulated a fortune greater than that of any of the lords of his time. His device, graven upon the walls of his historic house at Bourges,

reads, « To valiant hearts nothing is impossible ».

The king made Jacques Cœur superintendent of the royal revenues. As a member of the council he brought to the service of the state all the great ability he had proved in private affairs; he reformed the finances, a colossal task, and he placed his fortune at the service of his country when it was needed for the winning of Normandy. He loaned a great deal of money to the king personally and to members of the court. Thereby came his downfall. Although his fortune had served to rid the country of the English invaders, although there was never any question of his honesty, ability, or devotion, fantastic charges were brought against him by jealous nobles who were in his debt. He was charged with having poisoned Agnes Sorel, his good friend, who died from natural causes. Cleared of this, other false charges were brought against him. The ungrateful king proved no more loyal to Jacques Cœur than he had been to Joan of Arc; the hero of Bourges escaped death only through intervention by the pope. All his property in France was confiscated. Escaping from a convent-prison at Beau-

The house of Jacques Cœur at Bourges.

caire through the aid of loyal old servants, he made his way to Rome and entered the service of the pope. He was put in command of a fleet sent against the Turks and died in that service. His beautiful house at Bourges is second only in interest to the cathedral there. Jacques Cœur by his achievements, his administrative ability, his devotion to his country, and his martyrdom justly remains one of the most famous figures of the Middle Ages.

After Joan of Arc and Jacques Cœur, Agnes Sorel is the figure most frequently associated with Charles the Well-Served. To lovers of romance it may seem a pity that Agnes did not have such importance in the history of France as Brantôme's story and King Francis's verses indicate. Research that is pitiless and unromantic seems to have proved that her role was minor. Brantôme in his story relates that she inspired Charles to great deeds by telling him that an astrologer had foretold the greatness of her lover; that, since Charles was lazy and indifferent, Henry of England must be the one for whom she was intended; she even proposed to go to Henry. Whether Agnes stirred the king to action in any such manner or not, she did much to maintain his favor for Jacques Cœur and others of his good ministers; it was only after her death that the lords prevailed over the commoners in the king's council.

Agnes has enjoyed a reputation for goodness that has survived through the ages. It would be a pity, as a French writer has suggested, to interpret the anguished expressions of the two little angels who guard her tomb at Loches as indicating anxiety for her fate rather than grief for her passing.

Mention should be made of the pragmatic sanction of Bourges of 1438. In that measure Charles took a

bold stand in ecclesiastical affairs. There was at that time a schism in the Church of which an account is given in a later chapter. The clergy of France, assembled at Bourges, in accordance with royal proposals, ruled in its sanction that the council of the Church that met at Bâle had authority superior to that of the pope; that papal bulls would be effective in France only if they had royal approval; that certain payments made to Rome would be thereafter abolished; that bishops and abbots should be freely elected by the minor clergy and not appointed by the pope. In Charles's reign the Great Schism that had lasted for seventy years and greatly weakened the Church came to an end.

The impatient dauphin could not wait for his father to die. He had to continue to plot and to conspire, seeking to win prematurely the crown that he would inherit. The royal forces finally advanced against the dauphin's own province of Dauphiny, whereupon Louis fled to the court of Burgundy. He sent a polite note to his father, stating that he had gone because the pope had asked him to join the duke of Burgundy in a crusade against the Turks, a crusade that was much talked about and was celebrated in a famous Burgundian banquet at Dijon, but it never happened. King Charles undoubtedly breathed a sigh of relief when his able but embarrassing son took his abilities outside of the kingdom. When he learned that Philip the Good had welcomed Louis, his comment was, « He has received the fox who will eat his chicken ».

Charles died in 1461. It is said that at the end he was afraid to take any nourishment because he thought that Louis, though far away, might manage to have the royal food poisoned. Like many of his predecessors, the king in his last days was an unhappy, remorse-

ful and disillusioned man. Yet, despite all his griefs, shortcomings and disloyalties, whether he deserves much credit for it, a little, or none at all, Charles's kingdom at the end of his reign was a model of order and of prosperity as compared with the nightmare of his youth and with the chaos that confronted him after he was crowned at Reims.

CHAPTER FIFTY-SIX

THE DUBIOUS RENOWN OF LOUIS XI. THE LEAGUE FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD AND THE BATTLE OF MONTLHÉRY

The craftiest of all the kings begins his reign. They compared Louis to a spider, and not without justice, but his spidery methods saved France. His castle at Loches. The lords form a league against Louis, but call it a League for the Public Good, thus making a pioneer contribution to the art of political bunk. Louis technically loses at Montlhéry, but wins his way into Paris, which was all he wanted.

It might be difficult to find anybody who does not know at least a little about Louis XI. No king of France has been more celebrated than he in romance as well as in history. No king has been more portrayed on the stage, and of late years he has been prominent even in musical comedy and the moving pictures. For these reasons, some popular acquaintance with this unusual king may perhaps be assumed. *Quentin Durward*, *The Vagabond King*, *The Miracle of the Wolves*, these are but a few among many titles of familiar works whose story is built around that cringing, crafty monarch who decorated his shapeless hat with sacred relics.

Louis XI.

The cruelty, duplicity and superstitious fears of Louis have been more advertised than the great work he did for France. The methods by which this pecu-

liar prince attained his devious ends were shocking, however much they may have been in vogue in his day, but the ends themselves were greatly to his country's interest. We may shudder when within the shadows of Louis's torture chambers, but, in the light of history, his achievements compel admiration.

Nearly every American who travels in France visits Loches in the popular « châteaux country », and

The king converses with the caged cardinal.

carries away from that visit a pleasant impression of horror. There you are led into dim dungeons, shadowy torture chambers, and cells blacker than night from which fumbling prisoners plunged into profound wells to impale themselves far below on sharp stakes set at the level of hell itself. You see there a deep and sombre space in which once hung a great iron cage. They called that cage the king's « little girl ». In it a prisoner could not stand erect nor could he lie down. The Cardinal Balue, who is given credit for the invention of this entertaining instrument, spent an impressive number of years inside of it. King Louis used to pass by a secret tunnel from a hidden

chapel to the gloomy cavern of the caged cardinal in whose company he found pleasure in making unpleasant remarks.

The cavern of the hanging cage is but one of many things you see in the old castle of Loches, and all of them are convincing of the shudders its very name once produced in the spines of a nobility whose loyalty to the king was doubtful. Loches received many distinguished guests who never again looked upon the beauty of that fair countryside through which they rode to their dark fate.

Louis, born at Bourges in 1423, was a child of eight when Joan of Arc was burned at Rouen. One wonders what effects the supernatural events of his early youth may have produced on that supersensitive, superstitious child. His boyhood was spent at Loches where he was educated by the famous theologian Gerson, chancellor of the University. The boy prince was an apt scholar; he became familiar with Latin and Italian and came to be a fluent writer of French. When he was thirteen, he was married to Margaret, daughter of the king of Scotland, whose short and pathetic life ended nine years later. There were no children by this unhappy marriage; Louis had a strange antipathy for Margaret which, one might say, served both kings right for marrying their children to each other when they were so young. When Margaret came to France she brought with her a body of finely-trained Scotch archers as part of her dowry; these Scotch archers were particularly helpful in driving out of France the English in whom they loved to sink their well-aimed shafts.

Louis had two sisters and one brother. His sister Jeanne married the duke of Bourbon, Madeleine married Gaston of Foix, and Charles, the youngest of the royal family, became duke of Guyenne and enemy

of Brother Louis when Louis became king, or, probably, even sooner.

The dauphin was fourteen when he first rode from the old castle away to war at his father's side. He went to the siege of Montereau and later had a part in various expeditions against unruly lords in Poitou and in Languedoc. You read in the last chapter of the part he played in the Praguerie in 1440. After he was pardoned for that, he was put in possession of the Dauphiny as was his right as dauphin. But Louis did not remain in that picturesque, mountainous province whose capital was Grenoble. The beauties of nature evidently held small appeal for his impatient ambitions. He distinguished himself at the taking of Pontoise and Dieppe from the English and led an expedition into Switzerland for the purpose of ridding France of certain troublesome soldiery. His aggressive, military youth gave slight indication of the adroit and tortuous methods he used when king.

Louis's incurable predilection for plots made him extremely unpopular at his father's court. He plotted against the bourgeois ministers and even against Agnes Sorel. After the death of his wife Margaret, loved by the court more than by her husband, Louis had a final falling out with his father and withdrew to the Dauphiny. In 1451, being then twenty-eight, he married Charlotte of Savoy against his father's wish, and then actively renewed his intrigues, striving to alienate to himself Normandy and Guyenne. It is difficult to find any adequate reason for Louis's misbehavior in this period; he was a most unfilial and foolish son of a forgiving father; his passion for plots lacked common sense as well as common gratitude. The king, as we have seen, was finally compelled to send an army to the Dauphiny charged with the mission of seizing the person of his rebellious heir. It was then that Louis fled post-haste to the court of Burgundy

where he lived for five years in luxury as a pensioner of Duke Philip.

When his father died in 1461, Louis did not even go to the funeral, but he did make haste to Reims to be crowned king himself. That was a very different coronation from his father's. Charles was led to his coronation through enemy country by an heroic peasant girl, but Louis was supported by all the pomp and panoply of the luxurious court of Burgundy. Philip the Good placed the crown on the new king's head, that young ingrate whose foolish benefactor he had been for so long.

Louis, even at the coronation, began to show eccentricities that were unusual for a king. He went poorly clad and with only a small escort. The gorgeous, display-loving duke, who led a hundred thousand men to Reims, seemed much more important there than the king who had been his guest and dependent. Philip went on with Louis from Reims to Paris where the city joyously and extravagantly fêted the new king and his patron duke. Fountains ran with wine that was served freely to all by picturesque and lightly-clad nymphs. A striking painting that portrays this welcome to the new king hangs in the Hôtel de Ville in Paris.

Louis, with apparent gratitude, loaded old Philip with honors, but no sooner did the proud duke ride away on the road to Burgundy than the new king began to plot against him. The fox was already hungry for the chicken. However, Louis had a long and difficult road to travel before he became master of Burgundy, and much to trouble him besides Burgundy alone.

The nobility nourished the belief that the new king would be more favorable to them than his father had been, but Louis was favorable to no one who stood

in the way of his designs. His inexperience, however, led to such blunders at the beginning of his reign that he soon had the commoners against him as well as the nobles. He began badly by increasing taxes and making certain ill-judged appointments to high office. Soon active revolt followed. Perhaps Louis needed precisely such trouble to develop his singular gifts.

Charles VII handed on to his son and successor an orderly kingdom, hardly recovered as yet from its sufferings through a century of war with England, but at peace with its neighbors and ready, under prudent administration, to make rapid progress in prosperity. However, there were certain gentlemen to be considered who, if estranged, were capable of serious interference with orderly development. Louis did estrange these gentlemen and it required a number of trying years that tested his remarkable abilities to the utmost before he put the kingdom in order again and extended it. The most important among the troublesome gentlemen was Charles the Bold who succeeded his father as duke of Burgundy. Charles was nearly as wayward a son as Louis, and he never did like Louis. Apart from the house of Burgundy, there were other important families of royal descent whose jealousies were to be reckoned with. After the death of Louis IX the danger to the ruling house that lay in giving important provinces over to the rule of younger sons of the king was already evident. Now this danger became active in a rebellion that all but overthrew the succession.

The period of the civil wars permitted a revival of the strength of many of the feudal houses. The house of Orléans, founded by the second son of Charles V, held four important provinces. The house of Anjou, descended from a son of John the Good, held Provence, Lorraine, and Maine as well as Anjou. The house of

Burgundy, founded by John the Good in favor of that son Philip who fought by his side at Poitiers, now held title to the rich provinces of the north as well as to Burgundy; its new domains were separated from the old ones by Lorraine and Champagne and presented difficulties of government, but the wealth and the strength of Burgundy were greater than those of the royal house of France. Other houses founded by younger sons of kings now long since dead were those of Artois, Alençon, and Bourbon. In all of these semi-royal families, the feeling of allegiance to the crown, enfeebled by time, circumstances, and jealousies, was far less strong than the passion to hold firmly to all prerogatives achieved and to resist any increase of royal power that diminished their own. The older feudal houses of Brittany, Foix, Armagnac and others could also be counted on as hostile to any measures that would strengthen the state through centralization of its government.

Nobles who had been associated with Louis in the Praguerie and in other later combinations against King Charles counted on the favor of their former co-conspirator. Their reaction against him was all the greater when they found that there were no grounds for any such confidence. Louis seemed to see clearly that his greatest and very necessary task was to increase his own power at the expense of his former allies and that, to this end, he needed the support of the commoners rather than that of his kinsmen. After his first mistake in over-taxation, he did all he could to court popular favor, choosing his intimates from among the rough and lowly and fraternizing informally with the burghers. Those most in his confidence were Olivier le Daim, his barber, and Tristan l'Ermite, his provost-marshal. In any regular sense Louis never had a council. It was said that the king's council rode with him on his horse. The plans that he used to attain his ends were such

that he was best served when he said least and explained nothing. He was mistrustful of all. Probably no king violated more treaties or secretly suppressed more personal enemies than Louis did, but no king excelled him in achieving his ends, dubious though his means may have been. Weaker enemies he swiftly exterminated; stronger ones he overcame by longer but no less successful methods in which trickery and falsehood were the principal elements.

The early edicts that turned all classes against their new king were edicts that restricted previous rights of nobles and clergy and increased the taxes laid on the commoners. Another of Louis's early acts was to buy back from Philip the Good those cities of the Somme ceded to Burgundy by the treaty of Arras in the previous reign. That made Philip's son Charles furious. Louis kept his younger brother Charles from control of the province of Berry that had been promised him, and that made Brother Charles furious. These two Charleses became the leaders of a rebellion that developed swiftly and left the king well-nigh isolated. His escape from being overthrown at this time was a miracle that never would have occurred save for the royal genius for eloquent mendacity and the mutual jealousies of his enemies.

More than five hundred nobles took part in the formation of what was called the League for the Public Good. There was no effort at concealment. The organizers of this great conspiracy felt themselves so strong that they met in Notre-Dame in Paris. A now familiar political irony lay in the leaders' choice of the expression « public good » as a slogan in their campaign. Their interest in the public good was limited to the amount of popular support they might obtain by using those words to hide their private purposes; politicians with similar interests and methods are unfortunately

still allowed to survive, even to prosper. No longer did the feudal lords dare to fight openly for feudal privileges, any more than the barons of certain commodities and public utilities dare to fight openly for their privileges today. Even five hundred years ago the strength of the people was great enough to compel the lords, if not to yield to it, at least to seek its favor through cajolery. Unfortunately this strength of the people was, and is, physical rather than mental. The League for the Public Good was a pioneer in the now so highly developed and still successful art of political bunk. The only detail in which these ancient hypocrites seemed to lag behind some of their modern and more successful brethren is that they did not think of the slogan, « Service ».

The greatness of Louis's career began with the formation of this league against him. All his latent abilities for intricate political intrigue and for sowing discord among his enemies became evident. This puny, deceitful prince, surrounded by opponents many times more powerful than he, at the mercy of any concerted blow, made plans to flee to Italy. He himself thought his cause as good as lost. But he did not flee to Italy. By one strategem after another he extricated himself from apparently unsurmountable difficulties, and, in the end, triumphed over all his enemies.

His own brain apart, the only good card Louis held was the small but well-organized army he inherited from his father. In the spring of 1465, having taken measures to flatter and placate the Parisians, and having withdrawn his unpopular edicts that bore upon the common people, he led this army to the south. He won a victory in Berry from the forces of the duke of Bourbon who surrendered to him at Riom. This victory made Louis fairly secure in the south; he had attacked so promptly that the conspirators did not have time to unite against him.

Hastening back to Paris, Louis found himself cut off from his capital by forces from Burgundy and Brittany that were assembled near the castle of Montlhéry on the Orléans road in the plain of Longjumeau, that same Montlhéry that Louis the Battler had won for the crown by methods as different from those of Louis the Crafty as day is different from night. Charles, son and heir of the duke of Burgundy but at that time known as the count of Charolais, was the principal leader of the allied troops. What saved Louis in this particularly precarious position was that Paris, won to neutrality at least by his concessions and flatteries, did not send out troops to fight with the allies. Also the count of Maine, an uncle of Louis, kept his three thousand men out of the battle, thereby proving his sagacity.

The engagement around the old tower of Montlhéry was complicated and indecisive as a battle, but it was not indecisive for Louis. As soon as he saw a chance to get through to Paris, he retreated rapidly in that direction, leaving the heralds of the allies to blow themselves red in the face proclaiming the victory of their masters on the field of battle. Louis did not care who claimed the victory or blew the loudest horn for the benefit of the peasants of Longjumeau. All he wanted at that time was to get back to his capital and behind the strong walls of the old Louvre where he was not long in figuring out his next move against the powerful and now united enemies who advanced and threatened the city.

CHAPTER FIFTY-SEVEN

KING LOUIS OUTWITS HIS ENEMIES NEAR PARIS, BUT BECOMES A PRISONER AT PÉRONNE.

The king gives away half his kingdom, but expects to get it back again. Preferring flattery to force, he puts himself in his enemy's power and nearly fails to get out of it again. Returning to Paris, he causes the arrest of a number of magpies and puts a cardinal in a cage. The War of the Roses in England is helpful to Louis.

The battle of Montlhéry was fought in the middle of July, 1465. Montlhéry is hardly fifteen miles from Paris, but a month passed before the allies traversed that fifteen miles. Finally, late in August, troops of Brittany captured the bridge of Charenton that crosses the Marne at the point where the Marne enters the Seine. That point is hardly two miles from the present limits of Paris. The situation was indeed critical. Now was the time when the poet Francis Villon became king for a day and led his ragged battalion against the Burgundians, but that was only in song and story. In actual fact Paris had neither power nor inclination to attack the advancing provincial armies. The only hope for the king and the kingdom lay in the king's own wits. The royal wits, fortunately, were keen, prompt, diligent, and efficient.

Old Philip of Burgundy had passed into a stage of semi-imbecility. His son Charles, though he did not inherit the title until two years later when his father died, was to all intents and purposes already duke.

He was by far the most powerful among Louis's many enemies. This Charles, known in history as Charles the Bold, is called in French the *Téméraire,* which means rash as much as it means bold. Charles's rashness and folly were quite as conspicuous as his impetuous bravery. He was precisely the type to rush headlong into such a trap as wily Louis might set.

Louis went to the camp of Charles at Conflans, at the confluence of the Seine and the Marne. The river separated the small cavalry force of the king from the camp of the Burgundians. Louis, risking everything, crossed in a small boat to the point where Charles and his lieutenants stood waiting to receive him. As the ferry approached the farther bank, Louis asked Charles if he would give him safe conduct for a conference. That granted, the king landed and began to converse in his pleasantest manner as though they were all old friends. He congratulated Charles on having been so prompt to keep his word, having reference therein to the duke's threat to get even for the cities of the Somme that Louis had bought from Charles's failing old father.

Charles the Bold.

The royal smiles and flattery had an effect. Louis proposed cheerfully, and as though it was a matter of no importance, to return the Somme cities to Burgundy, and to do even far more than that in the interest of peace which he made seem to be his only desire. He took the air of a good loser. He proposed to make his own brother Charles, Burgundy's principal

ally, duke of Normandy. He proposed that the duke of Brittany should have Etampes as a gift and be restored to feudal independence of the crown. Other dukes and counts, leaders in the League for the Public Good, he proposed similarly to reward in proportion to their prominence. The only member of the League for the Public Good not mentioned for reward was the public. The matter was being arranged between gentlemen. As an after-thought, however, it was agreed that Count Dunois, that old hero, should be made chairman of a committee to investigate and make recommendations for the public good, reference being had, of course, to such public good as might not interfere with any influential and profitable private interests. There seems to be no record of any report by the committee.

The generous royal proposals were embodied in the treaty of Conflans with Burgundy and in that of Saint-Maur with the princes. By the time all details and formalities had been concluded it was the end of October. The provincials, chilly in their camps, were quite ready to go home and leave the king in such peace as he could find in Paris. Judging by a mere reading of the new treaties, Paris was about all that the king had left. The allies had won a great victory, — in writing.

The treaties and agreements that Louis made in order to squirm out of the fix he was in and still be king were made, of course, only to be broken. Had they been fulfilled, there might have ceased to be any kingdom of France. The old feudal divisions would have reappeared and Burgundy at least would have become an independent kingdom. Fortunately Louis was able to find important legal support for getting out of these treaties and agreements as rapidly as possible.

The States-General declared at Tours in 1468 that the king, in view of an ordinance of Charles V that everybody had forgotten all about, had no right to cede Normandy even to his own brother; that particular province, it just so happened, could not be ceded to anybody; it was and must continue to be a part of the royal domain. Meanwhile Louis paved the way for this legal abrogation of a troublesome treaty by sowing discord among the former allies, and by actually occupying Normandy. The young duke of Brittany, jealous of the new young duke of Normandy, ceased to be his sincere friend and, accepting a royal bribe, agreed not to interfere with Louis's occupation. Charles the Bold at that time had his hands full with rebellions in Flanders that Louis quietly encouraged. He could not interfere. The duke of Bourbon did not interfere because Louis placated him by the gift of seven provinces in central France. Others who might have interfered were otherwise placated.

Thus Normandy came back to the crown without a blow being struck, and that was of prime importance. For, with Normandy allied to Burgundy on one side and to Brittany on the other, and all three friendly to England, the outlook for France would have been dark indeed. By taking back Normandy Louis broke a link of the chain that was tightening around him and placed his frontier on the sea again.

The king breathed once more with full lungs. Now the only enemy who gave him immediate concern was Charles the Bold who treated with scorn all the royal proposals that he should aid « in restoring justice throughout the realm ». Louis was now strong enough to fight on equal terms with the duke if he could fight with the duke alone. But he preferred on principle not to fight; also he was apprehensive of intervention on Charles's behalf by Edward IV of England. Edward was that cruel and able young duke of York who,

in the War of the Roses, wrested the crown of England from Henry VI of the house of Lancaster. That happened in 1461. Henry VI, as you recall, was, when a boy, crowned king of France at Notre-Dame in Paris. Later he married Margaret of Anjou, a princess of France, daughter of « good king René ». Louis gave aid to his kinswoman Margaret during the civil war in England, and was reasonably apprehensive of the vengeance of Edward. Already the duke of Brittany, as well as Charles of Burgundy, was soliciting Edward's help against Louis.

In these circumstances Louis had the temerity to seek an interview with Charles in Charles's own territory. Flushed, perhaps, with the important successes his powers of persuasion had won for him since the battle of Montlhéry, and urged on by the Cardinal Balue in whom he then had confidence, Louis, on Charles's solemn assurance of safe conduct, went to meet him at the castle of Péronne. This was in October of 1468.

Charles was undoubtedly impressed by Louis's audacity in placing himself voluntarily within his bitterest enemy's power; that alone seemed an evidence of good faith. He was inclined to respect the pledge of safe conduct he had given. So the two princes began quietly enough to discuss the conditions that might lead to peace between them.

Suddenly there came to Péronne news of an uprising of the burghers at Liége. It was reported that the Burgundian representative there had been murdered and that the uprising had been instigated by agents of King Louis. This report was exaggerated both as to the murders and as to the instigations of King Louis. None the less, Charles's fury knew no bounds. Already famous for the violence of his temper, he gave on this occasion an historic example of the symp-

toms of extreme anger. He ordered that the gates of the castle be closed and that his royal guest be locked up as a prisoner. Then he spent an entire night raging about in his bed chamber, trying to decide what form his furious vengeance should take. His first impulse was to murder Louis. Later on he had good reason to regret that he did not obey that impulse, but at the time there were reasons for hesitation. If he murdered Louis, Louis's younger brother

Charles, at Péronne, compels Louis to sign on the dotted line

Charles would become king. This Charles, having made up with the duke of Brittany whose guest he was at that time, and having been ridiculed by the duke of Burgundy at Montlhéry, might be expected to resent the murder by Burgundy of even an unloved brother ; he might form a strong coalition and become a more dangerous enemy than Louis himself. So it was decided to let Louis live, but to do everything possible to humiliate him, and to exact new and important concessions. Louis, however, not being handicapped by pride, was a hard man to humiliate, and as to granting concessions that was the easiest thing he did.

Meanwhile the captive king of France, outwardly

calm, was inwardly trembling. Doubtless he passed as sleepless a night in the room in which he was imprisoned as Charles did in the ducal bed chamber. From his window he could see the old and ominous tower of the castle in which one of his predecessors, Charles the Simple, was imprisoned until he died. A similar fate certainly hung over Louis that night.

But in the morning things began to look brighter. Charles came to the king and went through the form of obeisance. In a voice that was unsteady with rage he asked Louis if he would be « willing » to sign a treaty that in the form of ceding Champagne to Brother Charles practically would cede it to Duke Charles, and to join in the expedition about to start to punish the burghers of Liége. Louis was more than willing to do both of these things. In fact he was willing to do anything at all that would leave his head on his body or his body outside of a prison cell.

So they rode away to Liége and there Louis played his hypocritical role to perfection. Crying, « *Vive Bourgogne* », he led in the attack on burghers whose battle-cry was, « *Vive la France* », burghers who thought at first that Louis had come to save them. The city was soon taken and cruelly punished. After that Louis and Charles rode away together and parted on the Paris road like the best of friends. Louis asked if he could render « his brother » any further service, and arranged to go to Burgundy for a month's visit in the following summer. At parting he asked Duke Charles if he might offer to Brother Charles any other province than Champagne to replace Normandy in case Brother Charles had a preference. Duke Charles, completely taken in, responded that that was all right as far as he was concerned, and thereby lost the chance to control the province that was of most importance to him because it separated his dominions.

A sensitive king of France might have been ashamed to show his face in Paris after the affairs of Péronne and of Liége. Not so Louis. Swallowing whatever mortification he felt, he went straight to the capital. There he insisted that the new peace with Burgundy was in the public interest and must be respected. The only arrests he made there were of numerous tame magpies and jays that had been taught to cry out, « Péronne ».

Louis took quick advantage of Duke Charles's concession that other territory than Champagne might be ceded to his old ally, Brother Charles. He offered to his brother rich Guyenne with Bordeaux for its capital. Brother Charles jumped at that attractive offer, whereupon Louis smiled inwardly at the thought of the many miles that separate Guyenne from Burgundy, and of the busy time guileless Charles would have in keeping the English out of Bordeaux, the one pro-English city of France.

It was at this time that the Cardinal Balue entered that iron cage at Loches where he was to remain for ten years. Unfortunately for Balue, the king discovered that he was in correspondence with Burgundy; that combined with his advice as to Péronne was enough to settle the case of the cardinal. There was another iron cage for the bishop of Verdun for similar reasons.

The threat of England was removed for a time by a new treaty with the duke of Brittany who agreed to have no further negotiations with Edward IV. More than that, Louis aided the earl of Warwick, England's « king-maker », in his temporary overthrow of Edward IV in 1470. Warwick had turned against Edward and supported Margaret of Anjou and Lancaster, Louis's kinswoman and wife of the impotent and imprisoned Henry VI. Thus Louis rapidly reduced the likelihood of outside aid coming to the assistance

of Duke Charles, and prepared to move against him with force of arms. There was to be no visit to Péronne in this new campaign.

Mention of certain contemporary events in England may be convenient at this point. Young Henry VI did not like his uncle Gloucester, that duke who unintentionally rendered great service to France by estranging from England her ally, Philip of Burgundy. The direction of affairs was entrusted to Cardinal Beaufort. Henry was twenty-three when he married Margaret of Anjou. Beaufort died and control of the government came into the hands of the earl of Suffolk. Suffolk became the popular victim of the English reverses in France; charged with treason, he fled, but was captured on the high seas and beheaded on the sands of Dover. The duke of York, suspected of being the instigator of Cade's rebellion, was heir-presumptive to the crown as long as Henry was childless. King Henry became temporarily insane and Queen Margaret became the mother of a son, thus depriving York of the succession, even though the legitimacy of this son was challenged. York, supported by Warwick, came to power by force of arms in 1455. The king was imprisoned. The War of the Roses began, that long civil war between the house of York and the house of Lancaster to which the imprisoned king belonged.

York declared himself Protector of the mentally unbalanced king, but Henry, regaining his balance for a brief time, sent York to Ireland. Later, Henry was again imprisoned and an obedient Parliament declared York heir to the throne, overruling the rights of Margaret of Anjou's little son. Margaret, strongly supported in the north, defeated York and herself, so it is reported, decapitated the fallen duke. London however remained loyal to York and, thanks to War-

wick, the nineteen-year-old son of the late duke was proclaimed king as Edward IV.

Edward defeated the Lancastrians decisively in 1461 and became uncontested master of England with the able Warwick as his chief lieutenant. The new king had great military ability, but he is described as, « the cruellest and most bloodthirsty of all the kings of England ».

Queen Margaret, a dauntless and energetic woman, sought help in Scotland and France. Her husband, quite mad and harmless, was then a prisoner in the Tower of London. Warwick became estranged from Edward, begged Margaret's forgiveness for having accused her of adultery, and became her ally. Together they made such progress that Edward was compelled in 1470 to flee to Holland. Henry was released from the Tower and that « feeble shadow » was once again hailed as king.

Within a year, however, Edward returned to England, won a victory over the Lancastrians and killed Warwick. Margaret, landing at that time in the south, learned of Warwick's defeat and would have turned back to France with her seventeen-year-old boy. But, urged to go on, she advanced toward London. Her army, worn out by hard marches, was defeated by Edward at Tewkesbury and her son was put to death. Henry, her husband, was murdered in the Tower, and thus the house of York became supreme through killing all who could oppose it. Tragic Queen Margaret was held for four years as a prisoner in England. She ended her days in retirement in France as a pensioner of King Louis.

CHAPTER FIFTY-EIGHT

LOUIS BENEFITS BY HIS BROTHER'S DEATH. BURGUNDY'S DEFEAT AT BEAUVAIS. END OF CHARLES THE BOLD.

The king continues to reassemble his kingdom. Did he poison his brother? Wild Charles of Burgundy is stopped by the women of Beauvais while Louis plays chess at Pontoise. Edward of England invades France, but is not taken seriously. Louis offers him a party with presents instead of a battle and Edward accepts. The great house of Burgundy comes to a tragic end.

Those polite farewells that Louis and Charles said to each other one frosty morning in November when they parted on the road to Paris were more significant than they seemed. Those farewells marked, in fact, the permanent parting of two fundamental ideas in government that could no longer be reconciled; it was a parting of the new order from the old. The king, beset by a thousand difficulties and able to trust no one, was to show uncanny skill in establishing the royal authority throughout the kingdom and in centralizing the government. The duke, on the other hand, blind to the signs of the times and filled with confidence and pride, was to cause the final ruin of the old feudal order. « With Charles the Bold one witnesses the end of the Middle Ages; with Louis XI, the coming of modern times » (Coutant).

The treaty of Péronne was not yet two years old when Louis found means to break it. In 1470, before an assembly of judges at Tours, he charged Burgundy with certain violations of that treaty. The assembled

judges thereupon declared that, the treaty being set at naught by Charles himself, the king was legally justified in reoccupying the disputed towns of the Somme. Louis had an army of one hundred thousand men waiting for this decision, if they did wait. This army promptly marched and seized St-Quentin, Roye, Montdidier and Amiens.

Charles, compelled for the moment to yield, was not long in seeking revenge. His former ally, the king's brother, now duke of Guyenne, was momentarily on good terms with the king. This brief reconciliation of the brothers was partly due to Louis's liberality as to Guyenne, and partly due to his suggestion that Charles was likely to succeed to the throne. The implication was that Louis did not expect a son. However, a royal son did soon come into the world, much to the disappointment and chagrin of his uncle in Bordeaux. From the moment of this baby's birth, Bordeaux became the chief center of intrigue against the king. The duke of Guyenne was now ready to lend a willing ear to the frequent messengers who came secretly to him across France from the court of Burgundy. For the third time a league of the nobles was formed. Saint-Pol, who had sworn allegiance to the crown when Louis made him constable of the kingdom, took a leading part in the new conspiracy. Edward IV was back on the throne of England and promised to lend a hand in the good work of overthrowing the king of France. The king of Aragon also aided the conspirators, but their acknowledged leader was King Louis's own brother, Charles of Guyenne.

When things were just about ripe for action, the duke of Guyenne spoiled the whole plot by abruptly departing from life. Was he poisoned by his own confessor at the behest of the king, as is claimed? This question is insoluble in spite of a report that

Louis was overheard praying at Notre-Dame for forgiveness because he had caused the « wicked abbot of St-Jean » to poison his brother. That report is of dubious accuracy. What is entirely clear, however, is that this death was of enormous advantage to Louis and that Duke Charles, roaring with wrath, charged him with fratricide as well as with every other crime that came into the ducal mind at the moment. Gone forever was any hope of another reconciliation between the duke and the king. The duke, not waiting for allies, threw prudence to the winds and threw himself in fury upon Picardy, the nearest to him then of the king's dominions. The little city of Nesle had the misfortune to stand first in the path of the Burgundian storm. When the attack came, the people fled and took refuge in their church. The church proved to be no refuge at all. The Burgundians spared no one; they massacred men, women, and children before the holy altar. The duke rode his great war horse into the nave and over the dead bodies that lay there. Crossing himself, he cried out, « By Saint George, my children, you have made a fair butchery. »

Late in June the Burgundians came to Beauvais. They counted on a swift victory there by assault. But the people of Beauvais, knowing the fate of Nesle, were determined to resist to the last. It is this siege of Beauvais, with Carcassonne playing the role, that is portrayed in a fine historical moving picture, *The Miracle of the Wolves*. Here it was that Jeanne Hachette immortalized herself by leading the women of the town to help in the defense of the walls. She herself cut down the Burgundian standard-bearer and seized the standard when its bearer fell from the walls beneath her blows. Jeanne appears to have been a butcher's girl; her name Hachette comes from the hatchet that she wielded so efficiently on that day of disaster for Burgundy.

Repulsed before Beauvais, Charles withdrew into Normandy, burning as he passed all the towns that he could enter. King Louis was playing chess at Pontoise when they brought him the brave news from Beauvais. He went calmly on with the game, but showed his appreciation of the event by instituting an annual celebration at Beauvais in honor of her heroic defense, and particularly in honor of Jeanne Hachette whose statue you may see there in the fine old mar-

« By Saint George, my children, you have made fair butchery. »

ket-place. In that celebration, which is still kept up, the women of the town march ahead of the men and fire off the cannon.

Charles counted on being joined in Normandy by the duke of Brittany, but royal forces invaded the territory of that duke and prevented him from keeping his appointment with Burgundy. Charles, still raging, had to go back home. His expedition was a failure. Louis, following his policy of prudently biding his time, made new treaties with both dukes and rested on his arms.

Not so the rash duke. He could not rest. Repulsed in France, he sought to increase his strength by victories in other directions. It became his ambition

to make himself king of a kingdom that would include, in addition to his own possessions, Lorraine, the Rhine valley, Switzerland, the Dauphiny, and Provence. It was his dream to revive in this manner ancient Lotharingia and hold France at his mercy. Louis was delighted to hear that Charles had entered upon such a mad enterprise. He did all he could to facilitate it by not supporting his ally the duke of Lorraine when Charles began his great adventure by capturing Nancy. Emperor Frederick III promised to relieve Charles of any archaic obligations as a vassal of the king of France by making him a king himself in a ceremony that was to be held at Trèves. However, thanks chiefly to a message that came from Louis, the emperor left Trèves the evening before the day set for the coronation.

At this time, which was the summer of 1475, Edward IV of England landed with a large and elaborate army at Calais. He came to demand « his kingdom of France », but no one seemed to take Edward seriously; all were so busy about their own affairs that there was no time to pay much attention to a king of England and his claims. He expected that Duke Charles with an equally large army would be there at Calais to greet him; Edward was all ready for a triumphal march to Paris. The duke came to Calais, but he brought no army. He apologized for this oversight, claiming that his army was busy just then in Lorraine, but that Saint-Pol, the traitorous constable, would open the gates of France to Edward. The duke then galloped away to the east. Edward, none too well pleased, advanced with dignity to St-Quentin. There Saint-Pol, instead of opening the gates, opened fire with his cannon; the constable had decided, too late as it turned out, that it was to his interest to support Louis rather than Charles.

The dignity of the English advance ceased at St-Quentin. It dawned on Edward that he was not

Jeanne Hachette seizes a Burgundian standard in the attack on Beauvais.

being too cordially received by those who had begged him to come to their help. They were not cooperating with him too well in the matter of securing « his kingdom of France ». His interest in making a cam-

paign of doubtful outcome waned rapidly. His displeasure with Duke Charles inclined him toward a discussion of peace. Louis knew well how to deal with a situation like that. Edward went through the old form of sending a herald to carry a challenge to the king. Louis paid no attention to the challenge, but slipped three hundred crowns to the herald, thus substantiating his reputation of belonging to modern rather than to feudal times. After the herald, Louis bribed some of the English barons and ended by buying off Edward himself. A treaty was made at Pecquigny under whose terms Edward was to receive a pension from Louis, his daughter was to marry the dauphin, and Margaret of Anjou was to be returned to France. Then Edward and army went back to England well pleased with the pecuniary advantages of their adventure.

Characteristic of this commendable campaign was the reception of the English army at Amiens. An old account relates that Louis, « caused to be placed at the entrance of the city gate two tables, one on each side, filled with all good things that any one could wish to eat, the best wines procurable, and supplied with men to serve them. There was no thought of water. At each table five or six men of good family were seated; they were fat and lusty, the better to please those who wished to drink. When the English came near they saw the French seated; men seized their bridles and cried that they would break a lance with them. They were brought to the tables and made to sit down in great good humor, and they took the jest well. While they were in the city they paid nothing where they lodged, they were furnished with all things necessary where they ate and drank, they demanded what they would and paid nothing, and this went on for three or four days. » One wonders what might have happened if the French and the Belgians had been

able to receive the Germans in like manner in 1914.

Following the treaty of Pecquigny, Duke Charles also made a treaty with Louis so that he could devote himself entirely to his fantastic Lotharingian project. Louis always seemed ready to make a treaty with anybody.

Saint-Pol, that triple traitor, received a royal communication inviting him to come to the court. « I am surrounded by so many difficulties », wrote Louis,

The Swiss drove the Burgundians into the lake at Morat.

« that I have great need of a head like yours. » The king satisfied his need of Saint-Pol's head by having it removed from his body.

Duke Charles, successful in his campaign in Lorraine, invaded Switzerland. At Granson a garrison that surrendered upon his promise of safe-conduct was exterminated by drowning. The brave Swiss, aroused to prodigies of valor by this insensate brutality and treachery, fell upon the forces of the proud duke and put them to route. Again, at Morat, the despised « cowherders » won a great victory, practically annihilating the Burgundian army. Charles fled in disorder, followed by a mere handful of survivors. That was in

June, 1476. At Morat the Swiss erected a monument built with the bones of the fallen Burgundians.

The fury of Charles now reached the point of sheer madness. The duke of Lorraine re-entered Nancy while Charles was occupied elsewhere, and, in the following January, Charles made a hopeless attempt to retake that city. Betrayed by the leader of his own Italian mercenaries, he was killed in the wintry woods near Nancy. One of his pages found his naked body, partly eaten by wolves and frozen into the ice of a little pond. Thus miserably ended the most powerful of the feudal dynasties, the one that for so long was the chief obstacle to the development of French nationality. With Burgundy overthrown, no other feudal house could expect to resist the royal power.

Charles's daughter Marie was twenty years old when her father died. She was his only child. Under old feudal regulations there were three of the provinces of the house of Burgundy that could descend to a male heir only; otherwise they reverted to the crown. Those three were Burgundy itself, Artois, and Picardy. Needless to say, Louis promptly undertook to annex, although with some difficulties. Burgundy, Artois, and Picardy. Besides these, there were Franche-Comté, Flanders, Brabant, and Hainaut; these a daughter had the right to inherit. They formed the uncontested dowry of Marie of Burgundy and made her the richest heiress of her day. Louis suggested to Marie that she should plight her troth to his son; Marie was then twenty and Louis's son was seven; Marie said that she was not sure she could wait for the dauphin to grow up.

In an effort to intimidate the young duchess, Louis caused a revolt at Ghent in which two of her favorite councillors were killed. Marie revealed something of the temper of her late father, and, in anger, married

Maximilian of Austria, the son and heir of Emperor Frederick III, hoping thereby to be able later to settle the score with Louis. Marie did not live to see that score settled, but her marriage contributed to the great power of Emperor Charles V who, in the time of Francis I, so nearly overthrew the house of France.

Marie's new husband proved a failure as an administrator of her interests in the Low Countries. The Flemings had no sympathy with this German prince.

They found the body of Charles the Bold at the edge of a pond near Nancy.

They had hoped for the marriage of their young duchess with one of their own men. Maximilian had but indifferent success in resisting the French occupation of certain disputed cities, and he came to grief entirely in matters of internal administration.

In 1482 the duchess Marie died from injuries sustained in a fall from her horse. She left two small children, Philip and Margaret. The Flemings promptly named a council to direct their government and proposed to leave to Maximilian no authority at all. When he sought to overcome this opposition by hanging certain burghers, the Flemings turned to Louis. They proposed that the dauphin, whom Louis had

sought to marry to Marie, should now be pledged in marriage to Marie's little daughter Margaret, a much more suitable match. This proposal was entirely agreeable to Louis. Margaret's dowry was nearly as interesting as her mother's had been. The alliance between the dauphin and the Burgundian heiress was the basis of the treaty of Arras that was signed at the end of 1482.

All things seemed to favor Louis at this time. Maine, Anjou, and Provence also came to him through inheritance. His last days, one would think, might have been passed in agreeable contemplation of his remarkable record. They were, on the contrary, passed in trembling and in terror.

CHAPTER FIFTY-NINE

THE LAST DAYS OF LOUIS XI.

The marriage of Marie of Burgundy to Maximilian of Austria has important and unforeseen consequences. Good King René of Anjou passes away and his dominions pass to the royal house. Louis eliminates a number of anachronistic aristocrats, but completely loses his nerve when his own turn approaches. Death comes to Louis in the year that Luther was born Only nine years later, Columbus discovered America.

Although fully arranged for in the treaty of Arras, the marriage of Margaret of Burgundy and of Austria with the dauphin Charles never took place. Margaret married Philibert of Savoy. The much-affianced dauphin married neither Margaret nor that daughter of Edward IV to whom he was pledged by the treaty of Pecquigny. When it came time for him to wed, reasons of state made it highly desirable that he should marry Anne of Brittany, the famous little duchess who twice became queen of France. His marriage was celebrated at the castle of Langeais in 1491 and Brittany, the last of the great feudal fiefs, thus became joined to the crown.

Just as you hear of Charles VIII at Langeais where he was married, and at Amboise where he died, so you hear much of the life of Margaret when you visit the beautiful memorial church that she caused to be built at Brou near Bourg; her tomb there and that of her husband, Philibert the Handsome, are jewels of the art of the Sixteenth Century, the most remarkable monuments of their kind in all France.

Much of the old territory of Burgundy, including especially Flanders, remained tributary to the house of Austria. Margaret's brother Philip, two years her elder, became archduke of Austria, master of the Low Countries, and, through marriage, king of Castille. He was the father of Charles V, who. after he was elected emperor, became so formidable an enemy of France in the time of Francis I. Thus we may see in the light of succeeding events that Louis's greatest slip in statecraft occurred when he so offended Marie of Burgundy that she married Maximilian.

In 1482, however, Louis could hardly have been expected to foresee the remarkable rise in power of Austria, then a state of quite secondary importance. He had reason to feel content with what he did accomplish in dispersal of the Burgundian power, even though only a part of that power passed to France. The more so might he feel content because of the royal inheritances at that time that were referred to at the end of the last chapter. Anjou came to the crown in 1480 and Maine and Provence in 1481. (See page 469).

René of Anjou, father of that Margaret who married Henry VI of England. was called « good King René » ; good because he really was good and king because of that much-resisted title to the throne of Naples and Sicily ; that troublesome title rested in the Anjou family from the time a pope conferred it upon sinful Charles of Anjou, brother ot Saint Louis, until it was inherited by the royal family of France. Even then it did not cease to make trouble. You may see statues and hear stories of « good King René » at Angers and at Aix-en-Provence. He was the count of Provence as well as the duke of Anjou and the titular king of a kingdom that would have none of him.

René, in the time of Charles VII, cooperated com-

mendably in the reforms of that reign, but, when Louis XI came to the throne, he saw fit to move from Angers to the healthier climate of Aix. Louis suspected René, at least he claimed he suspected him, of favoring Charles the Bold. That was used as a royal excuse for seizing in 1475 René's important duchy of Anjou and his minor one of Bar. In the following year, however, these duchies, for reasons of state, were returned to their rightful owner. Louis's unfriendly acts seemed to trouble but slightly the serene and amiable disposition of René as soon as he had established his pleasant court at Aix in sunny Provence, so far away from Paris. This philosophical Angevin king was a patron of the arts and letters and to them he himself contributed poetry and essays. His court was sought and frequented by writers and painters. For his just and gentle ways he was greatly loved by his subjects in France even if not desired by those in Italy who were less familiar with his desirable qualities.

When René died in 1480, Anjou reverted to the crown; so likewise did Maine and Provence when René's nephew, Charles of Maine, died in the following year. This inheritance from Anjou was fine for France so far as the provinces of France were concerned, but the inheritance with them of that troublesome title to Naples was to involve her in distant and disastrous difficulties. The possession of Marseille made France for the first time an important power on the Mediterranean.

In the later days of Louis other territorial acquisitions were made through suppression of a considerable number of nobles as to whose treason and other misbehavior there was no doubt. During the last years of Charles the Bold, when Charles's attention was turned away from France, Louis made short shrift

of all who had formerly been allies of Burgundy. This disagreeable task was performed with such pitiless and ruthless efficiency that Louis gained thereby an historic reputation for personal vindictiveness. It should be remembered in his favor that his apparently personal vengeances were in nearly every case salutary for the state; nearly all of those whom he executed or imprisoned for life had conspired to overthrow the government and were enemies of the public peace.

The criminal count of Armagnac, a mad medieval sinner who forced his chaplain to marry him to his own sister, and was active in all plots against Louis, was killed in the presence of his wife after the capture of Lectoure, his capital. The duke of Nemours, a cousin of Armagnac, was imprisoned in one of the famous iron cages, brought to trial, and decapitated. Similarly perished the count of Albret, and a brother of the count of Armagnac. These capital punishments restored respect for royal authority in the south. As to the north, there the count of Saint-Pol was beheaded and the duke of Alençon and his son imprisoned for life. Saint-Pol had an ambition worthy of Charles the Bold; holding fiefs in both France and Flanders, it was his plan to create out of them a separate state. To further that end, he dealt traitorously with Burgundy and England as well as with France.

In 1474 Louis sent an army down to Perpignan which is near the Spanish frontier on the Mediterranean side. The arrogant and troublesome king of Aragon had ceded Roussillon to Louis as security for a large loan. Then he stirred up rebellion there, hoping to win back that little province so remote from Paris without having to pay his debt. He counted on Louis's well known reluctance to engage in distant expeditions. But in this case Louis decided that, rather than be flouted by the king of Aragon and leave thereby a gate to France ajar, he would make an exception. His

army captured Perpignan and the frontier there was firmly held.

Louis's death came in 1483, six years after that of Charles of Burgundy and only a few months after that of Marie. He died at Plessis-les-Tours, the famous fortress residence that is described in such detail in Scott's *Quentin Durward*. When the Flemish envoys brought to him the treaty of Arras for his signature at

Louis XI visits the kitchen of his castle at Plessis-les-Tours, and finds that the spit-turner is happier than the king.

the end of December in 1482, he was already half paralysed; he could hardly lift his hand to take oath upon the Bible.

He developed in those later days a complex of religious superstition and fear of death that was strikingly inconsistent with his mental powers in other matters. He could not reconcile life with death; his terrors of the grave brought him to the verge of frenzy. When he fell ill, the fearlessness of his youth forsook him. The useless, child-like precautions he took in vain efforts to save himself are famous. In romance and on the stage this phase of his strange character has been unduly advertised.

The king made his castle near Tours into a fantastic exaggeration of all means of defense, and shut himself up therein. Of walls and moats, of pitfalls and of great iron gates, there could not be enough. A strong guard of Scotch archers was always on duty to protect his person. Frantically he sent for sacred relics, for holy hermits, for famous doctors, for all of which he could think that might postpone the day of his passing. He made great gifts to churches and to monasteries, constantly consulted his favorite astrologers, performed prodigies of prayer, and covered himself with holy trinkets. His agony of mind doubtless added to the weakness of his body. He died on an August day at the age of sixty.

Louis was not a model husband and father. His domestic virtues, like his morals in other matters, did not rise above the level of his times. His considerably neglected second wife, Charlotte of Savoy, died in the same year as her husband. Their children were Anne, Jeanne, and Charles. Anne, born in 1462, was eight years older than Charles. She married the duke of Bourbon and Beaujeu, and, in accordance with the wish of her father, acted as regent during the minority of her brother. Her father called her « the least foolish woman in the world, none of them being wise ». Jeanne, the younger daughter, called Jeanne the Limping, married that Louis of Orléans who, upon the death of Charles, became king as Louis XII and, being then a widower, married his predecessor's widow. Louis XI was not proud of his son Charles, « a sickly child of feeble intellect ». He kept him away from the court and his education was neglected. Charles's boyhood and youth, as well as many of his later days, were spent at Amboise.

Louis accomplished in his twenty-two year reign more than any of his predecessors in the establishment

of national unity and organization. In 1465, to save himself and his kingdom from the League for the Public Good, he gave away the greater portion of his heritage and France then seemed hopelessly enfeebled, but, before he died eighteen years later, he had won the kingdom back again and extended it in spite of enormous difficulties. More than that, he suppressed forever those feudal powers and tendencies that were the kingdom's greatest menace. To no one of her kings is France more indebted than to this one whose days ended so pitifully in palsy and in terror. Louis, cowering in his castle on the Loire, seems far from an heroic figure, but his achievements entitle him to a great place in history. In the year of his death, Luther and Rabelais were born, and an obscure Genoese navigator was already dreaming of that historic voyage that doubled the size of the world. The Reformation, the Renaissance, and the Discovery of America were all on the threshold when Louis lay dying at Plessis-les-Tours. He more than any other ruler put an end to the ancient order; his death was fittingly coincident with the beginnings of modern times.

Although almost continuously occupied with saving his government from being overthrown by foreign enemies or domestic conspiracies, Louis in no wise neglected the internal administration. Taxes were increased, but the increase was not wasted. The revenues of the state were tripled, but, as Comines, his counsellor and historian, records, « Our good master put nothing into the treasury; he took all and spent all. He made great buildings for the fortification and defense of the towns and places of his kingdom and did more than any of the kings before him. » His lavish bribes prevented many a battle and much loss of territory; they proved to be a wise investment in the long run.

The postal service that Louis created was limited at

first to royal communications, but it presently expanded and became a public utility. His great ambition was to unify France. To that end he sought to establish uniform weights, measures, and legal procedures. According to Comines, « All the customs were written down in a fair book. » The work on this legal digest involved the study of foreign laws, especially those of the great Italian municipalities whose civil codes Louis admired and imitated.

He established high courts (*parlements*) at Grenoble, Bordeaux, and Dijon, and enlarged the right of appeal to royal courts. He granted to judges tenure of office for life during good behavior. He greatly increased the efficiency of the army, using six thousand Swiss as the nucleus of a corps of professional soldiers. He created the royal order of the Knights of Saint-Michel, seeking thereby to increase the loyalty of his officers and of the minor nobility; it was to a considerable extent patterned after the celebrated order of the Golden Fleece created by Philip the Good of Burgundy. He aided commerce and industry by prohibiting the importation of textiles from the east, by encouraging the domestic manufacture of silk, by establishing new commercial fairs, and by including commercial clauses in certain of his numerous treaties.

Louis founded a medical school in Paris and law schools at Bourges and Bordeaux. But perhaps his most notable contribution to the progress of knowledge was his protection of certain pioneer printers who came to France from Germany where they had been treated as sorcerers. Gutenberg's invention of movable type was in 1456; it was in 1470 that, under Louis's patronage, the first printing shop in Paris was opened in the Sorbonne.

The chief literary figures of this reign were Francis Villon and Philippe de Comines. Villon was that « vagabond poet » whose fame rests more on the place

he has found in the romances of other writers than it does on his own productions. His popular verse marks, however, a radical departure from the old forms and is filled with what the French call *verve*. Comines was the earliest of French statesmen who was also a serious historical writer. He was one of the counsellors of Charles the Bold before he came to serve Louis in whose dubious methods he delighted to cooperate. His record of the reign of his master is an invaluable document.

« Louis XI », Duruy writes, « contributed more than any other king to the foundation of the French monarchy, and is in some respects the representative of the new spirit in politics. By giving nothing to birth and all to merit, he prepared for intellect the position it holds in modern society, though intellect with him was often used in ruse and perfidy. »

This strange king of France remains the classic example of the accomplishment of commendable ends by reprehensible means. It was his right and duty to establish peace and order and to destroy the feudal elements that obstructed the unification of the state. He accomplished these ends by means that have been more criticised than his accomplishments have been praised, but who can prove that, under the conditions that confronted him, other means would have served better?

CHAPTER SIXTY

A POSTSCRIPT. THE REGENCY OF ANNE OF BEAUJEU. A GLANCE BACK. THE GREAT SCHISM. FIFTEENTH CENTURY MONUMENTS.

Louis's daughter Anne reveals as regent much of the paternal ability. The direct Valois end with his son Charles. His son-in-law, Louis of Orleans, makes all the trouble he can for Anne, but is three times defeated. Unfortunate Maximilian comes into the picture again. He nearly wins another duchess-bride from France, but Anne's army interferes and Brittany becomes joined to the crown through matrimony. Margaret of Burgundy and Austria is sent home to her father.

For reasons previously noted, this volume ends, properly speaking, at the end of the reign of Louis XI. This final chapter is by way of a postscript.

There are no hard and fast lines that separate chronologically one historical period from another. That is why this postscript may be desirable. Medieval France practically ended with Louis XI, and modern times, usually reckoned from the Renaissance, began, so far as France is concerned, with the excursion of his son Charles into Italy. That is where the break properly comes. But in between the two came the regency of Louis's daughter, Anne of Beaujeu, and the regency of Anne properly belongs within the historical period of her father. Also, for family reasons, Charles VIII deserves some mention, if only to point out that he was the last of the direct Valois. At the end of his fifteen-year reign (1483-1498), so very different from the fifteen-year reign of Charles V, the succession

passed to the Orléans branch of the Valois family. Louis XII, who was Charles's brother-in-law, his successor on the throne, and the husband of his widow, was also his second cousin; he was a grandson of that Louis of Orléans, brother of Charles VI, who was murdered in Paris by the men of John the Fearless of Burgundy; thus Louis XII was a cousin as well as a son-in-law of Louis XI.

Charles was thirteen when his reign began and unfitted to rule for other reasons besides age. It was his sister Anne who, in fulfilment of her father's wish, really ruled. The record of Anne proves her a true daughter of her father and a fair rival of Blanche of Castille; it was her government that really ended the transition period between the Middle Ages and modern times; it was after her regency that her less gifted brother began the long series of French campaigns in Italy in which the principle of « balance of power » between sovereign states replaced forever the ancient feudal ideas.

Anne's first problem was to appease the popular feeling against certain gentlemen whom her father had favored. In the royal service these gentlemen had developed a hastiness as to imprisonments and executions that was inconsistent with their own interest when once their protector had passed away. Anne solved this problem promptly and efficiently by turning over Tristan l'Hermite and Olivier le Daim for trial and execution.

In 1484 she assembled the States-General. This was a particularly notable assembly in that, for the first time, voting was done on a basis of territorial representation and the Third Estate was thereby given a fair show. Representatives were invited to speak their minds freely, both as to the reign just over and as to the one just beginning. Certain bold speakers, notably one named Philip Pot, made the point that a

king has no rights save those that are given to him by his people and that sovereignty rests only in an assembly of the people's chosen representatives. These advanced views, however, were not taken seriously by the commoners of 1484. They were not interested in views. They asked only for the redress of certain grievances. Principally they asked for a reduction of taxes, and laid on the table for three centuries any final consideration of the question raised by Philip Pot. The divine right idea was still popular enough to work. Anne had no difficulty in obtaining from the States-General an endorsement of her regency. She promised to reduce the taxes, but the promise was too vague to be fulfilled.

Just as in the time of Blanche of Castille, so in the time of Anne, certain lords took up arms against the government. The regency of a woman seemed to mark the right time for a rebellion. The most persistent and most notable of the rebels was Anne's brother-in-law, Cousin Louis. If Louis of Orléans had foreseen that he was going to be the next king, he might have kept the peace; when he became king, he urged everybody to forget that he ever was a rebel. As a rebel he was a failure. The commoners, the *parlement,* and the university sided with Anne. Louis and the nobles who revolted with him fled to the west and then sent notice of their surrender. Fortunately for them, the old king was dead. The new one pardoned them.

Three months later Louis had a new rebellion going. This time he formed a more ambitious coalition. He had as allies Richard III of England and Maximilian of Austria. Maximilian was effectively stopped in Artois. As for Richard, his espousal of the cause of Louis was even more unfortunate in its outcome. Anne furnished aid to Henry Tudor, a rival claimant to the throne of England. That aid enabled Henry to defeat Richard; he was killed on the field of Bosworth and the Tudor kings began to reign. Louis himself,

besieged at Beaugency, had to surrender for the second time.

Anne was too forgiving to Cousin Louis. He stirred up a third rebellion that had its center in Brittany. You will recall that Louis XI repeatedly had trouble with a duke of Brittany. The same duke, Francis II, a boy at the battle of Montlhéry, was defeated again and compelled for the last time to make his peace with France. One clause of the new treaty required that his daughter Anne should not marry without the king's consent. Soon after that, Francis died.

There was much rivalry for the hand of Duchess Anne. She, like Duchess Marie of Burgundy, had no love for France and took precisely the same way of showing it. She accepted, as Marie had accepted, the proposal of marriage of Maximilian, then Marie's widower. The kings of England and of Spain favored this match, but Anne of France was not to be intimidated. Her troops moved into Brittany. English, German, and Spanish forces were landed to resist the French, but the Bretons themselves took the side of France against the foreigners as soon as they had seen the foreigners. Duchess Anne, besieged in Rennes, decided to yield to the preferences of her own people. She agreed to accept a bridegroom to be named by the king of France. The king of France at once gallantly named himself for that honor. That was gallant with reference to Anne, but not so polite with reference to Margaret of Burgundy who had been brought up at the court of France as Charles's betrothed. Maximilian thus lost a bride and a royal son-in-law by the same stroke of misfortune. His daughter was returned to the court of Austria, and Maximilian proceeded to make all the trouble he could about it. The troubles he made, however, do not concern us in this volume.

The marriage of Charles with Anne (1491) was celebrated at Langeais where he went in state to meet his Breton bride. There and at Amboise you may see many evidences of these historic nuptials that did so much to bring peace to the kingdom. One condition of the marriage contract was that, if Charles died first, Anne could remarry only with his successor. The only unfortunate result of this marriage was that, after it, Sister Anne, to whom so much credit belongs, resigned from direction of the government. Sympathetic with her anxiety, we now leave the fate of France in the hands of her newly-wed brother.

Long before the death of Louis XI, those inventions that were to have so much to do with the transformation of the western world were already familiar in the remote and comparatively peaceful east. No inventions have had more effect on the course of history than those of gunpowder, of printing, of paper, and of the mariner's compass. All these the Chinese had, at least in rudimentary form, when western Europe was still little more than a battle ground for the barbarians. It was the Arabs who brought these precious ideas to the west. Gutenberg was the first to use movable metal type, but the Chinese printed from wood in the Tenth Century. Leonardo da Vinci perfected in Europe the locks that unlocked the land for canals, but the Chinese had locks on their Imperial Canal in the Thirteenth Century. Whoever deserves the credit for them, these inventions did so profoundly modify history that any account of it may reasonably pause with their introduction into western civilization which occurred about the time that Louis passed away. It is only in recent years that similarly epoch-making inventions have somewhat similarly started a new turn in the tide of human affairs.

Philip VI, the first of the Valois, began to reign in 1328. Charles VIII, the last of the direct ones, died in 1498. In all of that period France was almost continuously engaged in foreign and civil wars and made little social progress. Only two of the seven reigns in these one hundred and seventy years brought lasting benefits to the state. Philip VI and John the Good piled disaster upon disaster in the first half of the

The marriage of Charles VIII with Anne of Brittany at the château of Langeais.

Hundred Years' War. Charles V, aided by Duguesclin, saved the kingdom from ruin, but his reign was only an interlude in a century of calamities. In the long, dark reign of mad King Charles VI (1380-1422), the fortunes of France reached their lowest ebb. A boy king of England was crowned king of France at Notre-Dame in Paris and the dauphin could not enter his capital. Only the miracle of Joan of Arc saved the kingdom.

It was in the second part of the reign of Charles VII that things at last took a turn for the better, and it remained for Louis XI to suppress forever the sources

of the ancient disasters. It remained for his son and heir, however, to discover and develop the sources of new ones. But with the new disasters new ideas came. There followed an acceleration in social progress that gained in momentum as the years rolled by. Inventions, discoveries and ideas revived from a long-forgotten past revealed new possibilities for human life to which stagnant minds eagerly responded.

Facilities needed for human expression and development became available as never before and men seemed to know what to do with their new tools. Ever since then, tools and facilities have gone on improving, until now man seems a little lost in the intricacies of his own inventions that have by so far surpassed his actual needs. Humanity still loves to play with its new and so-miraculous toys, but is unaware as yet as to what the outcome of their use may be. The process of transforming human beings into efficient mechanisms is beset with perils. Some of the vigorous simplicities of the Fifteenth Century might serve the Twentieth even better than more new devices to separate man farther from his natural state.

The popes remained at Avignon from 1309 to 1378. In that period of seventy years, the prestige and the influence of the Church suffered greatly, but they suffered still more in the seventy years that followed the « Captivity of Babylon ». The Great Schism, to which reference has already been made, ran from 1378 to 1449. That period began with two popes; one at Avignon, the other at Rome. Italy and Germany supported the one at Rome; France and Spain gave allegiance to the one at Avignon. In 1409 a great Church council at Pisa sought to put an end to this scandal by deposing both of the popes and electing a third. The only result was that there were three rival popes instead of two. John Wycliffe in England and

Johann Huss in Bohemia led popular revolts against papal rule and its abuses. In both cases these revolts led to grave civil disorders which were suppressed only after years of bloodshed. Church council after Church council failed to reconcile views that were as divergent among the clergy as among the laity. The council of Bâle met in 1431 and, with certain interruptions, continued in session until 1449. It was this council that was recognized by Charles VII in the pragmatic sanction of Bourges (1438) as superior to any pope. Despite its high authority, this council never did come to any satisfactory agreement as to the points at issue. However, the resignation in 1449 of one of the rival popes restored unity at least as to the papacy and a semblance of order in the Church. That order was soon to be violently disturbed again by the Reformation. Luther and Calvin were the successors of Wycliffe and Huss.

Many monuments of the Fifteenth Century are conspicuous among the architectural treasures of France. They are more important than the contributions of the same period to other departments of art. It was in this period that Gothic art become elaborated into what has received the name flamboyant. It is only with reservations that the flamboyant (flaming) Gothic may be called decadent. It led to excess of elaborate ornamentation, but, in that excess, beauty is by no means absent.

The facades of the cathedral at Rouen, of Notre-Dame de l'Epine near Châlons-sur-Marne, and of the church at Alençon; the porches of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois in Paris and of the church at Louviers; the spire of Strasbourg; the choir at Mont-St-Michel; the house of Jacques Cœur at Bourges; the Palais de Justice at Rouen, — these monuments of the Fifteenth Century, so familiar to the tourist, bear witness to an

amazing skill and sense of beauty that did not cease to express itself.

We cannot bring this volume to a well-rounded ending, and perhaps it should have none. It leaves many of the threads of the story at loose ends and so they were in fact. The history of France has never stopped, or even paused, at any given point. Like life itself, it does not easily lend itself to organization. Like all that is vital and significant, it has gone on growing and changing and continues to grow and to increase in complexity and in significance. Its final chapter never will be written. Who could wish to write it?

Reluctantly, we stop here. There is very much of vivid interest that follows, but already the volume is fat. However, in case *Old France* justifies its existence, we hope in similar manner to carry the story forward from the Renaissance to the Revolution, from the wars in Italy to those famous days of terror and of inspiration when the people established their own lost right to rule and there were no longer any kings in France.

A
B
C
D
E
F
1
2
3
4
5
NORTH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
ATLANTIC
FRANCE
ILE DE FRANCE
PARIS
LONDON
Thames
Dover
Hastings
Boulogne
Calais
Bruges
Sluys
Furnes
Ghent (Gand)
FLANDERS
Courtrai
Cassel
Lille
ARTOIS
Agincourt
Bouvines
Tournai
HAINAUT
Cambrai
Montreuil
Crécy
Arras
Abbeville
St. Valery-s-S.
Somme
Oise
Dieppe
Picquigny
Corbie
Péronne
Amiens
Tesly
St. Quentin
Roye
Nesle
Marle
PICARDY
Montdidier
Noyon
Kiersy-s-O
Daon
Coucy
Soissons
Compiègne
Pierrefonds
Senlis
Meaux
Marne
Chau Thierry
Jouarre
Lagny
Coulommiers
Montlhéry
Provins
Melun
Étampes
Fontainebleau
Montereau
Troyes
Sens
Nemours
Montargis
Yonne
Auxerre
Tonnerre
Orléans
Fréteval
Pontvallain
Sarthe
Loir
Vendôme
Jargeau
Beaugency
Gien
Fontenet
Blois
Chaumont
Amboise
Marmoutier
Romorantin
Vierzon
Clamecy
Vézelay
Avallon
la Charité
NIVERNAIS
Nevers
Bourges
Mehun
Issoudun
Cher
Indre
Loire
Loches
Crevant
Moulins
BOURBONNAIS
Cressanges
Tours
Langeais
Azay
Chinon
Cravant
Saumur
Fontevrault
Plessis-les-Tours
Angers
Nantes
Loire
Mirebeau
Poitiers
Vienne
St. Maixent
Niort
Lusignan
Melle
POITOU
ANJOU
TOURAINE
MAINE
le Mans
Mayenne
Sarthe
Rennes
Vilaine
Fougères
Josselin
Ploermel
Hennebont
Auray
Carnac
BRITTANY
Brest
Mont St. Michel
Avranches
Mortain
Tinchebray
Domfront
Sées
Verneuil
Dreux
Chartres
Alençon
Bellême
Brétigny
Puiset
Châteaudun
Patay
ORLÉANAIS
Eure
Mantes
Meulan
Poissy
St. Denis
Pontoise
Montmorency
Senlis
Oise
Marne
Meaux
Lagny
St. Germain
St. Cloud
Conflans
St. Maur
Bicêtre
Bourg-la-Reine
Charenton
Montfort-l'Amaury
Longjumeau
Montlhéry
Gisors
St. Clair-sur-Epte
Epte
La Roche-Guyon
Jeufosse
Mantes
Rolleboise
Seine
Cherbourg
Barfleur
Valognes
Carentan
Coutances
St. Lô
Vire
Bayeux
Formigny
Val-des-Dunes
Caen
Orne
NORMANDY
Lisieux
Talaise
Conches
Evreux
Vernon
Pont-de-l'Arche
Elbeuf
Rouen
Quillebeuf
Honfleur
Harfleur
Lillebonne
Caudebec
St. Wandrille
Yvetot
Fécamp
Arques
Dieppe
Lyons
Gisors
Gaillard
Andelys
Beauvais
Gournay
Montmorency
Mortemet
Pont-de-l'Arche
Louviers
Cocherel
Verneuil
Dreux
Chartres
Melun
Montereau
Troyes
Sens
Nemours
Montargis
Orléans
Auxerre
Tonnerre
Vézelay
Avallon
Clamecy
la Charité
Nevers
Bourges
Mehun
Vierzon
Romorantin
Blois
Chaumont
Amboise
Tours
Angers
Nantes
Loire
Vilaine
Carnac
Auray
Josselin
Ploermel
Hennebont
Brest
Rennes
Fougères
Mayenne
Sarthe
le Mans
Pontvallain
Mirebeau
Poitiers
St. Maixent
Niort
Lusignan
Melle
Cressanges

INDEX

Abbeville 176, 237, 429, 460.
Abbey of Men 252.
Abbey of Women 253.
Abbeys 205.
Abelard 346, 408-9.
Acre 397, 399.
Adelaide of Aquitaine 210.
Adelbert 210.
Agincourt, Battle of 484.
Agnes of Meranie 321.
Agnes of Poitou 340.
Agnes Sorel 523, 528-9, 535.
Agreement of Worms 345.
Aigues-Mortes 356-7.
Aix-en-Provence 564.
Aix-la-Chapelle 137, 170.
Alan Blanchard 486.
Albi 402.
Albigenses 330, 350, 401 seq.
Albret, Count of 566.
Alençon 229.
Alençon, church 579.
Alençon, Duke of 525-6, 566.
Alésia 30.
Alfred the Great 235.
Alix of Champagne 317.
Alphonse of Poitiers 335, 359, 364.
Amaury de Monfort 406.
Amboise 563, 568, 576.
Amiens 176, 318, 423, 553, 558.
Amiens, cathedral 417.
Anagni 376.
Andelle 176.
Andely 77, 264, 320.
Angers 229-30, 372, 525, 564.
Angles 234.
Angoulême 158, 438.
Anne of Beaujeu 568, 572 seq.
Anne of Brittany 563, 575 seq.
Anne of Russia 215.
Anjou 228-9, 565.
Anjou, Duke of 465.
Antioch 272-3.
Aquitaine 80, 129, 401.
Arabs 96-7, 577.
Aragon, 363-5, 367, 566
Architecture 283, 360, 413-4, 579.
Ardennes 28, 35, 66, 169.
Arianism 62 seq., 119.
Aristotle 410.
Arlette 225 seq.
Armagnac, Bernard of 476 seq.
Armagnac, Count of 566.
Armagnacs 476 seq., 484 seq.
Armoire 196.
Army, Reform of 524.
Arnold of Brescia 346-7.
Arnulf of Corinthia 337.
Arques 230, 303.
Arras 480, 488, 513, 519.
Arras, Treaty of 519, 539.
Arras, Second Treaty of 562-3, 567.
Art 196-7, 413-4, 579.
Artevelde 425.
Arthur of Brittany 322-3.
Arthur of Brittany and Richmond 494-5, 518-9, 522-3, 525.
Artillery 423, 430
Artois 424.
Asia Minor 273, 395, 397.

Attila 53 seq.
Aude 28, 30, 302
Augsburg 339.
Auray, Battle of 456.
Aurelian 69, 231.
Austrasia 82 seq.
Autun 93.
Auvergne 312-3, 525.
Auxerre 150, 218, 477, 510.
Avars 135.
Avignon 332, 364, 377, 453, 457-8, 578.
Avranches 186, 219, 312.
Azay 313.

Babylonian Captivity 377, 578.
Bailiffs 329.
Bajazet 462.
Bâle 158.
Bâle, Council of 530, 579.
Baltic 369.
Banking 361.
Bannockburn 420.
Balue, Cardinal 533, 546, 549.
Baptism of Clovis 72.
Bar, Duchy of 565.
Barbarossa, see Frederick Barbarossa.
Barfleur 265, 428.
Bar-le-Duc 228, 451.
Bar-sur-Aube 526.
Basilica 123.
Bastard of Bourbon 526.
Bastard of Orléans 498.
Bastille 329, 462, 519.
Battle Abbey 246.
Battle of the Herrings 499.
Baudouin 215, 398.
Baudricourt 503.
Bayeux 180-1, 183, 187, 238.
Bayonne 367, 520.
Beaucaire 332, 416, 528.
Beauce 11, 28, 448, 452.
Beaufort 550.
Beaugency 298, 493, 509.
Beaumanoir 438.
Beauvais 292, 448, 554-7.
Bec 252.
Bedford, Duke of 489-90, 493 seq., 518-9.
Bellême 219, 334.
Benedictine Rule 116, 340.
Benedictines 115-6
Bernard of Armagnac 476 seq.
Bernard the Dane 187.
Berry 439.
Berry, Duke of 465, 470, 473.
Bertrade of Montfort 216, 284.
Bertha of Burgundy 211.
Bertha of Holland 216.
Bertrand Duguesclin 422, 437, 454 seq.
Beziers 332, 404.
Bicêtre 477.
Black Death 433.
Black Prince 430, 439, 452, 456, 458-60.
Blanchard, Alan 486.
Blanche of Castille 41, 303, 322, 333 seq., 354, 356.
Blanche of Navarre 433.
Blois 181, 525.
Bohémond 271-3.
Bologna 372.
Boniface VIII 373 seq.
Bordeaux 159, 355, 367-8, 442, 458, 520, 570.
Bourbon, Duke of 525.
Bourges 296, 439, 477, 514, 524, 567-8, 570.
Bourges, Pragmatic Sanction of 529-30.
Bourg-la-Reine 452.
Bouvines, Battle of 325-6.
Bramborough 438.
Brétigny, Treaty of 452, 456.
Brie 448.
Brittany 28, 183, 219, 237, 334, 425 seq., 456, 575.
Brou 563.
Bruges 287, 368-9, 461.
Brunehaut 83 seq.

Bureau, Gaston 527.
Bureau, Jean 523, 527.
Burgundians 52, 60, 64, 476 seq., 485 seq.
Burgundy 80-1, 158, 163, 180, 199, 213, 232, 383-4, 452, 456, 467 seq.
Byzantium 268.

Cabochin Ordinance 479-80.
Cabochins 477-8, 485.
Caen 225, 252, 254, 428, 484.
Caesar 30, 45.
Cahors 460.
Calais 432, 451, 460-1, 520.
Calvin, John 579.
Cambrai 292.
Canossa 312.
Canterbury 246.
Canute 218, 235-6, 340.
Capet, Hugh 40, 170, 207 seq.
Capetian Dynasty 164, 207 seq.
Captal de Buch 455.
Captivity of Babylon 377, 578.
Carcassonne 30, 302, 332, 404.
Cardiff 262.
Cardinal Balue 533, 546, 549.
Carentan 428.
Carloman 161, 176.
Carnac 37.
Carthage 359.
Cassel 423.
Castelnaudary, Battles of 334, 405.
Castille 364, 457, 459.
Castillon 520.
Castles 191 seq., 303.
Catherine of France, daughter of Charles VI 487-8.
Cauchon, Pierre 479, 513, 515.
Cervolles 444.
Châlons 55, 451, 465, 510.
Châlons, Battle of 54-6.
Châlus 321.
Champagne 54, 65, 232, 286, 296, 335, 448, 456-7.
Champs de Mars 104, 133.
Chandos, Sir John 440.
Chansons de Geste 412.
Chape 208.
Charente 355, 358.
Charenton 542.
Charité, La 514.
Charlemagne 39, 131 seq., 144-5, 173.
Charles I v. Charlemagne.
Charles II the Bald 40, 147 seq, 157 seq., 174, 197, 201.
Charles III the Simple, 40, 161, 166, 181 seq.
Charles IV 386.
Charles V the Wise 42, 444 seq. 454 seq.
Charles VI the Well-loved 42, 464 seq., 475 seq., 482 seq.
Charles VII the Well-served 42, 491-5, 504 seq., 517 seq., 522 seq.
Charles VIII 568, 572 seq.
Charles II King of Naples 367.
Charles V (Emperor) 561, 564.
Charles Martel 95 seq.
Charles of Anjou 358, 364-5.
Charles of Blois 425, 437, 456.
Charles of Guyenne, brother of Louis XI 534, 539, 543, 548, 553 seq.
Charles of Lorraine 208-9.
Charles of Valois 363, 384.
Charles the Bad 419, 436 seq., 444, 447, 450, 454 seq.
Charles the Bold of Burgundy 537, 538, 542 seq., 553 seq.
Charles the Fat 161 seq., 179 seq., 347.
Charles the Good of Flanders 287.
Charlotte of Savoy, wife of Louis XI 535, 568.
Charters 290 seq.
Chartres 11, 182, 188, 400, 452, 518.

Châteaudun 303, 498.
Château-Gaillard 320-3, 385, 439,
Château-Thierry 77, 512.
Châtelet 177.
Cherbourg 230, 455.
Chester 249.
Chevalier, Stephen 523, 527.
Childebert 78-9.
Childeric 58.
Chilperic 80 seq , 120.
Chinese 577.
Chinon 314, 495, 503-5.
Chivalry 306-7.
Chizé 461
Chramn 79.
Church of Rome 61 seq., 111 seq., 118 seq., 145-6, 197.
Cistercians 404.
Citeaux 404.
Clarendon 311.
Clement V 377.
Clermont 269, 525.
Climate 34.
Clisson 425-6, 437, 460, 465, 468 seq.
Cliton 262, 287.
Clodomir 78.
Clotaire 78-9.
Clotaire II 85 seq.
Clotilde 64, 69 seq., 77, 90.
Clovis 39, 58 seq.
Cluny 214, 340.
Cocherel 455.
Cœur, Jacques 523, 527-9.
Columbus 569.
Combat of the Thirty 438.
Comines, Philippe de 569-71.
Commerce, 196, 289.
Communal militia 324, 328-9.
Communes 204, 288 sq., 360, 433.
Compiègne 166, 480, 512, 514, 518.
Conches 312.
Conflans 543.
Conflans, Treaty of 544.
Conrad I 338.
Conrad II 339-340.
Conrad III 346, 395.
Conrad IV 352.
Constance of Aquitaine 212-3, 228.
Constance of Castille 317.
Constance of Sicily 348.
Constantinople 268. 398.
Constitutions of Clarendon 311.
Convives du roi 106.
Corbie 176.
Cotentin 28, 183, 186, 218, 428.
Coucy 284, 334.
Coulommiers 512.
Courtrai, Battle of 369-70.
Cousinet, William 523, 527.
Coutances 218.
Craon, Peter of 470.
Cravant 124.
Crécy, Battle of 429 seq.
Crevant 493.
Crusades 259, 267 seq., 319, 356, 358, 379, 394 seq., 401 seq.
Cusset 525.

Dagobert 87.
Damascus 396.
Damietta 398-9.
Danes 234, 251.
Danube 135, 472.
Dark Ages 48, 51.
Dauphin 433, 443 seq.
Dauphiny 433, 530, 535.
De Buch 455.
Desmarets, John 466.
Despencers 420.
Dieppe 535.
Diet 344.
Dijon 467, 570.
Discovery of America 569.
Dives 187, 233, 241.
Divine right 145-6, 574
Domesday Book 250.
Domfront 219, 229.
Domremy 500 seq.
Donjon 219, 303.

Dordogne, 28, 131.
Dover 246, 368.
Duchy of France 159.
Duguesclin, Bertrand 422, 437, 454 seq.
Dunois 497-8, 518, 520, 525, 544.
Durandel 134.

Ebles 177.
Ebro 134.
Ebroin 91-4.
Edessa 396.
Edict of Kiersy 201.
Edict of Mersen 201.
Edith, daughter of Godwin 236.
Edmund Ironside 235.
Edward I 367, 419-20.
Edward II 386, 420.
Edward III 41, 419 seq., 427 seq., 435 seq., 460, 480-1.
Edward IV 545-6, 551, 556-8.
Edward Atheling 239, 246.
Edward the Confessor 236, 239
Egbert 234.
Egypt 356.
Elbe 134.
Elbeuf 429.
Eleanor of Aquitaine 285, 297 seq., 308, 312, 314.
Ely 249.
Emma of Normandy 218, 235.
England 157, 234 seq., 244 seq., 257 seq., 308 seq., 324, 357, 367, 383, 427, 451, 480 seq., 550-1.
Epte 182, 187, 220.
Etampes 544.
Ethelred 218, 235.
Eudes 163, 165, 177 seq.
Eudes of Blois 214, 228, 232.
Eure 176, 455.
Eustace of Saint-Peter 422.
Evreux 183, 188, 232, 436, 439, 455.
Exeter 249.

Fairs 415-6.
Falaise 225-7, 230.
Falstaff, Sir John 498, 509.
Fécamp 189, 218, 220.
Ferrand of Flanders 326.
Feudal Ages 156, 190 seq., 199 seq., 299 seq.
Feudal system 156, 200 seq.
Fiefs 202, 249,
Fieschi 351.
Flamboyant Gothic 579.
Flanders 176, 241, 286, 368-9, 422-3, 425, 465.
Flemings 368-9, 423.
Florence 346.
Fontainebleau 383, 488.
Fontanet, Battle of 149 seq.
Fontevrault 314.
Formigny, Battle of 520.
Fougères 520.
Francis II of Brittany 575.
Franconians 338.
Franks 33, 52, 60, 385.
Frédégonde 83 seq., 120, 172.
Frederick II 337, 349-52, 354, 398-9.
Frederick III 556.
Frederick Barbarossa 346 seq., 397.
Fréjus 166.
Freteval 320.
Fronsac 131.
Fulk Nerra 228-9.
Furnes 368.

Gabelle 433.
Galeswinthe 83.
Gallo-Romans 59 seq.
Garonne 28, 30-1.
Gascony 332.
Gaudy 292.
Gaul 32 seq.
Gauls 45 seq.
Genoa 346, 370.
Genoese 430.
Geoffrey d'Harcourt 428.

Geoffrey Martel 229, 231-3.
Geoffrey of Anjou 266, 309.
Geology 35.
Germany 52, 132, 339.
Gerson 534.
Ghent 518, 560.
Ghibellines 345 seq.
Gien 510.
Gisors 182, 263-4, 303, 312-3.
Gloucester, Duke of 492-3, 496, 518.
Godfrey of Bouillon 271 seq.
Godwin the Saxon 236.
Gondebaud 70.
Gontran 80 seq.
Gothic architecture 283, 360, 413-4, 579.
Gournay 520.
Gozlin 163, 177.
Grand-Andely 77.
Granson 559.
Great Companies 444 seq., 452-3, 456-8.
Great Ordinance 445.
Great Schism 530.
Gregory VII (Hildebrand) 223, 340 seq.
Gregory IX 351, 355.
Gregory of Tours 120-1.
Gregory the Great 118 seq.
Grenoble 433, 535, 570.
Guelphs 345 seq.
Gutenberg 570, 577.
Guyenne 367, 423, 549.

Haganon 168.
Hainaut 496.
Halley's comet 243.
Harfleur 483.
Harnescar 229.
Harold Bluetooth 187-8.
Harold Hardrada 242.
Harold, son of Canute 235.
Harold the Saxon, son of Godwin, 231 seq., 244 seq.
Hasbain 475.
Hastings, Battle of 215, 243 seq.
Hastings the « Norman » 174 seq.
Heloise 408-9.
Hennebont 425.
Henry I of France 214 seq., 228, 231.
Henry I (Emperor) of Saxony 338.
Henry II (Emperor) 339.
Henry III (Emperor) the Black 340.
Henry IV (Emperor) 340 seq.
Henry V (Emperor) the Parricide 266, 286, 344.
Henry VI (Emperor) 348 seq.
Henry I of England 260 seq.
Henry II Plantagenet 332, 335, 357-8, 419-20.
Henry IV Lancaster 481.
Henry V Lancaster 481 seq.
Henry VI Lancaster 489-90, 515, 517, 550.
Henry VII Tudor 574.
Henry of Transtamare 457, 459.
Henry Short-Coat, son of Henry II 312 seq.
Henry the Lion of Saxony 347.
Henry the Superb of Saxony 345.
Heretics 213.
Hermengarde 146-7.
Hildebrand (Gregory VII) 340 seq.
Holland 467.
Holy Roman Empire 137, 144, 209, 295, 339.
Homage 203.
Hospitalers 405.
Hôtel 473.
Hôtel de Ville (Paris), 446, 451, 536.
House Carls 245.
House of Anjou 522, 537.
House of Burgundy 214, 537-8, 560-1.
House of Commons 481.
House of Orléans 537.

House of York 551.
Hugh Capet 40, 170, 270 seq.
Hugh the Great 168-9, 187.
Hugo of Lusignan 322, 334, 355.
Hunald 130.
Hundred Years' War 421 seq., 520.
Hungary 472.
Hungarians 158, 338.
Huns 53 seq.
Huss, Johann 579.

Iconium 348.
Ile-de-France 52, 156, 164, 277, 286, 413, 447.
Ile-de-la-Cité 177, 361, 381.
Indre 287.
Ingeburge of Denmark 321.
Innocent III 349-50, 403.
Innocent IV 351.
Investiture 204.
Isabeau of Bavaria 468 seq., 476 seq., 484-5, 522-3.
Isabelle of Aragon 363.
Isabelle of England 334, 355.
Isabelle of France, daughter of Philip IV 368, 386, 419 seq.
Isabelle of France daughter of Charles VI 472.
Isabelle of Hainaut 318.
Isabelle Taillefer 322.
Issoudun 439.

Jacqueline of Hainaut 496.
Jacquerie 448-9.
Jacques Cœur 523, 527-9.
Jacques de Molay 382.
Janissaries 472.
Jargeau 493, 509.
Jeanne of Blois 425.
Jeanne of Evreux 419, 438.
Jeanne of France, daughter of Louis X 385.
Jeanne of France, daughter of John the Good 436.
Jeanne of France daughter of Charles VII 534.
Jeanne of Montfort, daughter of Charles VI 425, 494.
Jeanne of Navarre 364, 366.
Jeanne of Orléans, daughter of Louis XI 568.
Jean Petit 475.
Jehane of the Golden Girdle 313.
Jerusalem 220, 229, 274, 379, 396-7.
Jeufosse 182, 188.
Jews 109, 361, 382, 433.
Joan of Arc 422, 490, 500 seq., 512 seq.
John Desmarets 466.
John Lackland 313 seq.
John of Brienne 398.
John of Montfort 425, 437, 494.
John the Fearless of Burgundy 467 seq., 475 seq., 484 seq.
John the Good 42, 428, 435 seq., 443 seq.
Joinville 412.
Josselin 437-8.
Jouarre 124.
Judgment of God 104.
Judith of Bavaria 146-7.
Julian 49.
Jumièges 173, 186.
Justinian 366.
Jutes 234.

Kerbogha 273.
Kiersy-sur-Oise, Edict of 160, 201.
Kingdom of the Two Sicilies 215, 224, 348-9, 351, 364, 367.
Kings in couplets 387.
Knighthood 307.
Knights of Saint-Michel 570.
Knights of the Garter 435.
Knights of the Golden Fleece 570.
Knights of the Star 435.
Knights Templar 379 seq.
Knollys, Robert 460.

La Charité 514.
Lagny 518.
La Hire 497.
Lanfranc 252-3, 257.
Langeais 229, 576-7.
Langue d'oc 157, 411.
Languedoc 32, 330, 335, 401, 407, 465, 470.
Langue d'oil 157, 411.
Laon 167, 169, 186, 292 seq., 512.
La Roche-Guyon 486.
Latin Quarter 362, 409-10.
League for the Public Good 539 seq.
Lectoure 566.
Legists 372 seq.
Legnano 347.
Le Mans 292, 470-1.
Leo IX 223.
Leonardo da Vinci 577.
Libourne 520.
Lief the Lucky 173.
Liége 344, 475, 546-8.
Lille 371.
Lillebonne 241.
Limoges 460.
Limousin 358, 439.
Lincoln 332.
Lisieux 183.
Loches 229, 439, 525, 529, 533-4.
Loire 28, 174, 492.
Lombards 99, 112, 119, 127, 222.
Lombardy 347.
London 235, 246-7.
Longjumeau 541.
Lorraine 153, 158, 167.
Lothaire, grandson of Charlemagne 149 seq., 158.
Lothaire, son of Louis IV 170.
Lothaire of Saxony 345.
Lotharingia 152, 228, 556.
Louis I the Pious 146 seq.
Louis II 161.
Louis III 161, 176.
Louis IV d'Outre-mer 169 seq., 186.
Louis V the Lazy 170.
Louis VI the Fat 40, 260, 263, 276 seq.
Louis VII 295 seq., 310, 312, 314-5.
Louis VIII 331 seq.
Louis IX Saint Louis 41, 333 seq., 336, 354 seq., 374, 392, 399, 429.
Louis X 384-5.
Louis XI 43, 524 seq., 532 seq., 545 seq., 552 seq., 563 seq.
Louis XII 573 seq.
Louis of Nevers 422, 425.
Louis of Orléans, brother of Charles VI 468 seq., 573.
Louis the German 149 seq., 174.
Louis the Infant of Germany 338.
Louviers 579.
Louvre 329, 368, 376, 541.
Lugenfeld 148.
Luna 176.
Lutetia 50.
Luther 569, 579.
Luxeuil 117.
Lyon 29, 351, 416.
Lyons, Forest of 232.

Madeleine of France, daughter of Louis XI 534.
Magna Carta 261, 332.
Maillart, John 450.
Maillotins 465.
Maine 219, 565.
Maison Carrée 32.
Malcolm 250.
Mamelukes 356.
Manfred 358.
Mansourah, Battle of 399.
Mantes 232, 253-6, 331, 436, 456.
Marcel, Stephen 445 seq.
Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England. (Wife of Henry VI) 527, 550-1.
Margaret of Burgundy, wife of Louis X 385.

Margaret of Burgundy and Austria 565-3, 575.
Margaret of Scotland 250, 261.
Margaret of Scotland, wife of Louis XI 534-5.
Marie of Anjou, wife of Charles VII 522.
Marie of Burgundy 560-1.
Marigny 384.
Markets 416.
Marmousets 468-70.
Marmoutier 117.
Marseille 565.
Martel, Charles 95 seq.
Massif Central 28, 35.
Matilda 230-1, 238, 253.
Matilda of England 266.
Matilda of Scotland 261.
Mauger 230.
Maxey 502.
Maximilian of Austria 561, 574 seq.
Mayence 149, 344-5.
Mayors of the Palace 88 seq.
Meaux 165, 286, 449, 489.
Mehun-sur-Yèvre 491.
Me le 525.
Melun 254, 216, 489.
Mérovée 56.
Merovingian society 101 seq.
Mersen, Edict of 201.
Messina 224, 349.
Metz 76, 229, 527.
Meulan 436, 456.
Meuse 153.
Milan 339, 346-7.
Mirebeau 323.
Mons 370.
Montargis 496.
Montbard 303.
Mont Cassel 423.
Montdidier 553.
Montereau 488-9, 535.
Montfaucon 165.
Montfaucon (gibbet) 384.
Montferrand 525.
Montfort 437, 456.
Montfort-l'Amaury 406.
Montlhéry 216, 277-8, 284.
Montlhéry, Battle of 541.
Montmartre 466.
Montpellier 373, 410, 433, 456.
Montpensier 333.
Montreuil 368.
Mont-St-Michel 186, 220, 238, 241 496, 579.
Morat, Battle of 559.
Mortemer 232.
Mortimer 420-1.
Muret, Battle of 405.

Najara 458.
Nancy 560.
Nantes 159, 425-6.
Naples 367.
Narbonne 129, 416.
Navarre 364, 416.
Nemours, Duke of 566.
Nesle (Picardy) 554.
Nesle, Tower of 329.
Neustria 82 seq., 172.
Nevers 514.
New Forest 259.
Nicea 221, 271, 273.
Nicholas II 223.
Nicopolis 472.
Nîmes 32, 98.
Niort 525.
Nogaret 373, 380, 385.
Normandy 33, 157, 167, 181 seq., 427.
Normans 51, 158 seq., 172 seq., 222 seq., 234.
Northumberland 241, 249.
Notre-Dame (Paris) 177, 329, 375, 408, 415, 517, 539.
Notre Dame of Mantes 255.
Noyon 292, 460.

Oath of Strasbourg 151, 411.
Odo 247 seq., 255, 259.
Oise 220.

Olifant 134.
Olivier de Clisson (father) 425-6.
Olivier de Clisson (son) 426, 437, 460, 465, 468 seq.
Olivier le Daim 538, 573.
Oriflamme 286.
Orléans 76, 81, 159, 213, 372, 465, 493 seq.
Orléans, Siege of 497-9, 507 seq
Oscelle 181-2.
Ormond de Centvilles 187.
Otto I 338-9.
Otto II 170, 188, 339.
Otto III 211, 339.
Otto IV 349 seq.
Otto of Saxony 338.
Oxford 357.

Paderborn 133.
Palais de Justice (Rouen) 579.
Palermo 222, 224, 364.
Palestine 356.
Pampeluna 364.
Paris 49, 76, 80, 159, 163, 170, 174, 177 seq., 329-30, 361, 381, 445, 462, 465, 536.
Parlement 360-1, 367, 570, 574.
Parliament 481.
Patay 509.
Pecquiguy, Treaty of 558, 563.
Pedro of Aragon 364.
Pépin d'Heristal 94.
Pépin the Short 98 seq., 127 seq.
Père-Lachaise 409.
Périgord 210, 439.
Perpignan 365, 566.
Péronne 168, 483, 546-7, 549.
Perpetual Constitution 87.
Peter of Craon 470.
Peter's Pence 240.
Peter the Cruel 457, 459.
Peter the Hermit 269 seq.
Petit-Andely 320.
Petrarch 443.
Pevensey 242.
Philibert of Savoy 563.
Philip I 40, 215, 228.
Philip II Augustus 41, 313 seq., 317 seq.. 327 seq., 397.
Philip III 363 sq.
Philip IV the Fair 41, 363, 366 seq.
Philip V the Tall 385-6.
Philip VI (Valois) 41, 363, 386, 418, 421 seq., 427 seq.
Philip the Hardy of Burgundy 452-3, 465 seq.
Philip the Good of Burgundy 488 seq., 491 seq., 513 seq., 518-9, 530, 536.
Philip of Austria 564.
Philip of Evreux 439.
Philip of Flanders 318.
Philip Pot 573-4.
Picardy 232, 241, 448.
Pierre Cauchon 479, 513, 515.
Pierrefonds 302.
Plantagenet 207.
Plessis-les-Tours 567-9.
Ploermel 437.
Poissy 429.
Poitiers 11, 124, 186, 298, 313, 439, 505.
Poitiers, Battle of 439 seq.
Poitou 186, 364, 525.
Pont-de-l'Arche 455.
Pont-du-Gard 31.
Pontvallain 461.
Ponthieu 237.
Pontoise 220, 429, 535, 555.
Portugal 215.
Pot, Philip 573-4.
Praguerie 525-6.
Pre-aux-Clercs 411, 444.
Prehistory 36.
Pretextatus 120, 172.
Printing 570.
Private wars 205.
Provence 32, 401, 565.
Provins 334, 416, 512.
Provision of Oxford 357.
Puiset 216, 284.

Quarrel of the Investitures 296, 341-2, 345.

Rabelais 569.
Radegonde 79.
Ragnar Lodbrog 174.
Randon (castle) 462.
Raoul 168.
Raoul de Gaucourt 497.
Raoul de Presles, 384.
Raoul de Ternois 232.
Raoul d'Ivry 217.
Raymond of Toulouse 334, 403 seq.
Reformation 569.
Reims 65, 73, 166, 264, 419, 451, 460, 465, 511, 536.
Renan 373.
Renaissance 569.
René of Anjou (« Good King René ») 527, 564-5.
Rennes 425, 437, 575.
Rhine 28, 52, 153, 369.
Rhône 28-9, 153, 377.
Richard I (Plantagenet, Lion-Heart) 313 seq., 317 seq., 397.
Richard II 464, 472, 480.
Richard III 574.
Richard the Fearless of Normandy 186-7
Richard II of Normandy 217.
Richard III of Normandy 218.
Riom 540.
Riparian Francks 52, 94.
Roanne 525.
Robert Bruce 420.
Robert, Duke of France 167-8, 182.
Robert Guiscard 223, 343.
Robert Knollys 444.
Robert of Artois 364, 370, 424.
Robert of Sorbon 362.
Robert the Devil 214, 218 seq., 225 seq.
Robert I the Pious 211 seq.
Robert the Strong 159, 161, 175.
Robert Shortboots of Normandy, oldest son of William the Conqueror 252-3, 257 seq., 272.
Rochelle 324, 332.
Rodez 460.
Rodin 432.
Roger Guiscard 223.
Rois fainéants 89-90.
Roland 134.
Rolloboise 181-2.
Rollo 167, 181 seq.
Romane 151.
Roman law 372-3
Rome 47, 112, 118-9, 137, 366.
Romanesque 273.
Romorantin 439.
Roncesvalles 134.
Roosebeke 466.
Rouen 167, 173, 176, 181, 183, 235, 323, 429, 433, 439, 444, 465, 486-7, 516-7, 520.
Rouen, cathedral 579.
Roussillon 566.
Royan 355.
Roye 553.
Rudolph of Swabia 343.

St-Clair-sur-Epte 167, 182.
St-Denis 87, 127, 281-2, 416, 462, 489, 513.
St-Germain-des-Prés 117, 174, 177, 411.
St-Germain-l'Auxerrois 177.
St-Lô 183, 428.
St-Maixent 525.
St-Martin-de-Tours 117.
St-Quentin 292, 553, 556.
St-Stephen 252.
St-Valéry 241.
St-Wandrille 173.
Saint Antoine 380.
Saint Augustine 120.
Saint Benoît 115.
Saint Bernard 296, 394-5, 408, 410, 413.
Saint Boniface 63, 100.

Saint Colomban 117.
Saint Eloi 87.
Sainte-Chapelle 361.
Sainte Geneviève 54-5.
Saintes 159, 355.
Saint Leger 92 seq.
Saint Louis v. Louis IX.
Saint Martin 115.
Saint Ouen, 87.
Saint-Pol, Count of 550, 553 556, 559, 566.
Saint-Pol (palace), 460, 463, 489.
Saint-Remi 39, 65 seq.
Saint Thomas Aquinas 410.
Saladin 397.
Salerno 224.
Salian Franks 33, 52, 94.
Salic law 105.
Salisbury, Earl of 497-8.
Salisbury Plain 250.
Saône 28-9, 153.
Saracens 95 seq., 158, 166, 174, 222-3, 351.
Saumur 495.
Saxons 234, 244 seq., 338.
Saxony 133 seq.
Sciarra Colonna 376.
Scotch archers 534, 568.
Scotland 420.
Sées 227.
Seine 28, 49, 320.
Seljuk Turks 257.
Seneschals 329.
Senlac 243.
Senlis 208, 380.
Sens 166, 311, 408, 489.
Septimanie 129.
Serfs 204, 217, 333. 385.
Shrewsbury 481.
Sicilian Vespers 365.
Sicily 215, 223, 365, 367, 397.
Siege of Paris 177 seq.
Siegfried 176.
Sigebert 80 seq.
Sigismond of Hungary 472.
Simon de Montfort 358, 405 seq.
Simon de Montfort (son), 406, 420.
Sluys, Battle of 425.
Soissons 53, 76, 82, 168, 480, 512.
Somme 186, 429.
Somme, Cities of the 539, 543, 553.
Song of Roland 134, 244, 412.
Sorbon, Robert of 362.
Sorbonne 362, 409, 570.
Stamford Bridge, Battle of 242.
States-General 375, 419, 433, 444-5, 459, 526, 545, 573.
States of the Church 129.
Stephen of Blois and England 308.
Stigand 237, 252.
Strasbourg 151, 158, 579.
Suffolk, Earl of 550.
Suger 280 seq., 295 seq.
Suzerain 200, 204.
Syracuse 223.
Syragius 66.

Taillebourg, Battle of 355.
Taillefer 244.
Talbot 509, 520.
Talvas, William 219.
Tancrède 274, 349.
Tancrède de Hauteville 222.
Tapestry of Bayeux 238.
Templars 379 seq.
Temple 380.
Testry, Battle of 94.
Tewkesbury. Battle of 551.
Thibaut of Champagne 285.
Thibaut le Chansonnier 334 seq., 364.
Thibaut II of Navarre 364.
Thierry 77.
Third Estate 375, 573.
Thomas à Becket 310 seq.
Tinchebray, Battle of 262.
Tolbiac, Battle of 71-2.
Tonnerre 451.
Toul 165.

Toulon 166.
Toulouse 30, 159, 296-7, 330.
Tours 74, 108, 120, 174, 181, 210, 332, 380.
Tostig 241-2.
Tower of Nesle 329, 384.
Towns 195, 289 seq.
Treaty of Arras 519, 539.
Treaty of Troyes 489, 493, 519.
Treaty of Verdun 151 seq., 174.
Trèves 556.
Tristan l'Hermite 538, 573.
Troubadours 402, 412-3.
Trouvères 412.
Troyes 165, 335, 416, 451, 465, 510.
Troyes, Treaty of 489, 493, 519.
Truce of God 306.
Tuchins 465.
Tunis 359.
Two Sicilies v. Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

Underground passages 303.
University of Paris 330, 362, 409, 477-9.
Urban II 269.

Val-des-Dunes, Battle of 228.
Valentine Visconti 472.
Valognes 230, 428.
Vandals 61.
Varaville, Battle of 187, 233.
Vase of Soissons 66-8.
Vaucouleurs 503.
Vaudois 402.
Vendôme 334.
Venice 346.
Venosa 224.
Vercingetorix 30.
Verdun 151, 165, 174.
Verdun, Treaty of 151 seq., 174.
Vermandois 186.
Verneuil 439, 493.
Vernon 182, 320.
Vexin 28, 183, 220, 253, 263.
Vézelay 394, 397.
Vézère 96-7.
Vichy 525.
Vienne 314, 380.
Vierzon 439.
Villains 304.
Villehardouin 398, 412.
Villeneuve 377.
Villon, Francis 542, 570.
Vincennes 360-1, 428, 454, 489.
Viollet-le-Duc 302.
Visigoths 52, 60, 78.
Vitry 84, 296.
Volksheim 343.
Vosges 28, 35, 117.

Waifre 130.
Walter the Penniless 270.
Warwick 515, 549-51.
Wat Tyler's Rebellion 480.
Westminster Abbey 239, 246, 252.
Westphalia 134.
White Nave 265-6.
William Iron-arm 223.
William Longsword 186.
William of Aquitaine 285.
William of Nogaret v. Nogaret.
William I the Conqueror 226 seq., 234 seq., 244 seq., 257-8.
William II Rufus 257 seq.
William Talvas 219.
Winchester 246, 259.
Windsor 451, 489.
Witan 246.
Witikind 133-4.
Worms, Agreement of 345.

Yolande of Aragon 522 seq.
Yonne 28, 488.
York 242.
York, Duke of 550.

Zacharias 125.
Zirickzie, Battle of 370.

KEY TO FOLDED MAP

This map undertakes to indicate all the towns mentioned in the text that lie within its limits. So it is a map of old rather than of modern France. Some points named upon it might be difficult to find today. Some of them have been abandoned by man and nearly obliterated by nature. In exploration of old France by motor there is much need to use the excellent sectional maps of Michelin or of Taride that indicate quite clearly the points of historic interest that actually exist today and how to reach them.

Abbeville E2.
Agincourt E2.
Aigues Mortes F8.
Aix-en-Provence G8.
Aix-la-Chapelle G2.
Albi E8.
Alençon D4.
Alésia F5.
Amboise D5.
Amiens E3.
Andelys D3.
Angers C5.
Angoulême D6.
Arles F8.
Arques D3.
Arras E2.
Auch D8.
Auray B4.
Autun F5.
Auxerre F4.
Avallon F5.
Avignon G8.
Avranches C4.
Azay D5.
Bâle H5.
Barfleur C3.
Bar-le-Duc G3
Bar-sur-Aube F4.
Bayeux C3.
Bayonne B8.
Beaucaire F8.
Beaugency E5.
Beauvais E3.
Bec D3.
Bellême D4.
Besançon G4.
Béziers E9.
Biarritz B8.
Bicêtre B2.
Blois D5.
Bordeaux C7.
Boulogne D2.
Bourg G6.
Bourges E5.
Bourg-la-Reine B2.
Bouvines E2.
Brest A4.
Brétigny D4.

Brou G6.
Bruges E1.

Caen C3.
Cahors D8.
Calais E2.
Cambrai E2.
Camp of Attila F3.
Carcassonne E9.
Carentan C3
Carnac B5.
Cassel E2.
Castelnaudary E9.
Castillon C7.
Caudebec D3.
Châlons F3.
Châlus D6.
Château-Gaillard D3.
Châteaudun D4.
Château-Thierry F3.
Charenton B2.
Chartres D4.
Chaumont G4.
Chaumont-sur-Loire D5.
Cherbourg C3.
Chinon D5.
Chizé C6.
Citeaux G4.
Clamecy F5.
Clermont-Ferrand E6.
Cluny F6.
Coblence H2.
Cocherel D3.
Compiègne E3.
Conches D3.
Conflans B2.
Corbie E2.
Coucy E3.
Coulommiers E4.
Courtrai E2.
Coutances C3.
Cravant D5.
Crécy E2.
Cressanges E6.
Crevant E5.

Dieppe D2.
Dijon F5.
Dives C3.
Dôle G4.
Domfront C4.
Domremy G4.
Dreux G4.

Ecouis D3.
Elbeuf D3.
Etampes E4.
Evreux D3.

Falaise C3.
Fécamp D3.
Flers C4.
Fleury-sur-Andelle D3.
Fontainebleau E4.
Fontanet F4.
Fontevrault C5.
Formigny C3.
Fougères C4.
Fréjus H8.
Freteval D4.
Fronsac C7.
Furnes E1.

Gand F1.
Geneva G6.
Ghent F1.
Gien E5.
Gisors A1.
Gournay E3.
Granson H5.
Grenoble G7.
Guéret E6.

Hasbain G2.
Hastings D2.
Harfleur D3.
Hennebont B4.
Honfleur D3.

Issoudun E5.

Jargeau E4.
Jeufosse A1.
Josselin B4.

Jouarre E4.
Jumièges D3.

Kiersy-sur-Oise E3.

La Charité E5.
Lagny C2.
Langeais D5.
Laon F3.
La Rochelle C6.
La Roche-Guyon A1.
Lectoure D8.
Le Mans D4.
Le Puy F7.
Les Andelys D3.
Liége G2.
Libourne C7.
Lille E2.
Lillebonne D3.
Limoges D6.
Lisieux D3.
Loches D5
Longjumeau B2.
Louviers D3.
Lugenfeld H4.
Lusignan D6.
Luxeuil G4.
Lyon F6.
Lyons D3.

Mantes A1.
Marle F3.
Marmoutier D5.
Marseille G9.
Maxey G4.
Mayence H2.
Meaux C1.
Mehun E5.
Melle C6.
Melun E4.
Mersen G2.
Metz G3.
Meulan A1.
Mirambeau C7.
Mirebeau D5.
Montargis E4.
Montbard F5.
Montdidier E3.
Monte-Carlo H8.
Montereau E4.
Montfaucon G3.
Montfort-l'Amaury A2.
Montlhéry B2.
Montmorency B1.
Montpellier F8.
Montpensier E6.
Montreuil E2.
Mont-St-Michel C4.
Morat H5.
Mortain C4.
Mortemer D3.
Moulins E6.
Muret D5.

Nancy G4.
Nantes C5.
Narbonne E9.
Nemours E4.
Nesle E3.
Nevers E5.
Nice H8.
Nimes F8.
Niort C6.
Noyon E3.

Orléans E4.

Paderborn H1.
Pampeluna B9.
Patay E4.
Pau C9.
Pecquigny E2.
Périgueux D7.
Péronne E2.
Perpignan E9.
Pierrefonds E3.
Plessis-les-Tours D5.
Ploërmel B4.
Poissy A1.
Poitiers D6.
Pont-de-l'Arche D3.
Pont-du-Gard F8.

Ponthion F4.
Pontoise B1.
Pontvallain D4.
Provins E4.
Puiset E4.

Quillebeuf D3.

Reims F3.
Rennes B4.
Riom E6.
Roanne F6.
Rodez E8.
Rolleboise A1.
Romorantin E5.
Roosebeke F2.
Rouen D3.
Royan C6.
Roye E5.

St-Clair-sur-Epte A1.
St-Cloud B2.
St-Denis B1.
St-Gilles F8.
St-Jean-d'Angély C6.
St-Lô C3.
St-Maixent C6.
St-Maur B2.
St-Quentin E3.
St-Sebastian B9.
St-Valéry-sur-Somme D2.
St-Wandrille D3.
Saintes C6.
Saumur C5.
Sées D4.
Senlis B1.
Sens E4.
Sluys F1.
Soissons E3.
Strasbourg H4.

Taillebourg C6.
Testry E3.
Tinchebray C4.
Tolbiac G2.
Tonnerre F4.
Toul G4.
Toulon G9.
Toulouse D8.
Tournai F2.
Tours D5.
Trèves G3.
Troyes F4.

Val-des-Dunes C3.
Valognes C3.
Varaville C3.
Vaucouleurs G4.
Vendôme D4.
Verdun G3.
Verneuil D4.
Vernon D3.
Vézelay F5.
Vichy F6.
Vierzon E5.
Villeneuve F8.
Vire C3.
Vitry F4.

Worms H3.

Yvetot D3

3 50
f